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MEETING AND PAPERS
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OFFICERS
of the
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May, 1934–May, 1935

President

*Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice-Presidents

Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
James A. James.....Evanston
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
Theodore C. Pease.....Urbana
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

*Mark D. Batchelder.....Peoria
Logan Hay.....Springfield
Henry J. Patten.....Chicago
Paul Steinbrecher.....Chicago
*Lincoln H. Weldon.....Bloomington
Paul M. Angle.....Springfield
Carl E. Black.....Jacksonville
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
Clint Clay Tilton.....Danville
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Mrs. Henry English.....Jacksonville
James A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Harold Ward.....Sterling

* Now deceased.

FOREWORD

This volume is the forty-second of its kind to be issued since the organization of the Illinois State Historical Society. Like those which have preceded it, it contains the official proceedings of the last annual meeting and the papers read at that time.

A word about the publication policy of the Society may not be out of place here. Manuscripts dealing with almost any phase of the State's history, letters and documentary material of historical value, bibliographies and reminiscences are solicited. Shorter papers and those of general interest will be printed in the quarterly Journal of the Society; longer contributions and bibliographical material will be used in this volume. The Society reserves the right to determine whether contributions will be printed or not. It also disclaims responsibility for the views and opinions expressed by individual authors.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Editor.*

PART I

Official Proceedings—Annual Meeting

May 9, 1935

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 9, 1935

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, on May 9, 1935.

A quorum being present, and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, being absent because of illness, Mr. John H. Hauberg, Vice-President, called the meeting to order. The Secretary read the minutes of the last annual meeting, which were approved as read. The Secretary's Report (see p. 17) was then presented and accepted.

Mr. Hauberg called attention to the fact that at the last annual meeting of the Society a committee had been appointed to draft a constitutional amendment and present it for action at this meeting. The committee had drawn up the following amendment to Section 3 of Article II:

"Section 3. At each annual meeting, except the first annual meeting to be held under this section, five directors shall be elected for terms of three years each. At the first annual meeting held under this section fifteen directors shall be elected, five of whom will hold office for one year, five for two years and five for three years, in accordance with lots to be drawn after the election. Directors shall be elected by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted."

The Secretary stated that in accordance with the constitution notice of this amendment had been submitted to all members of the Society thirty days in advance of the annual meeting. After a brief discussion, the adoption of the amendment was moved, seconded and passed.

On the motion of Mr. Patten, seconded by Mr. Gernon, the acting president was requested to appoint a committee of three to nominate fifteen directors. Mr. Hauberg appointed Doctor Pease, Mr. Thomas and Miss Norton as the members of this com-

mittee. The committee withdrew and returned to present the following report:

"The nominating committee presents the names of the following persons, to be elected directors of the Illinois State Historical Society and to be classed in accordance with the amendment to the Society's constitution which has been adopted at this meeting: James A. James, Laurence M. Larson, Theodore Calvin Pease, Henry J. Patten, Logan Hay, George C. Dixon, Lincoln H. Weldon, Cornelius J. Doyle, Mark D. Batchelder, Mrs. Henry J. English, Paul M. Angle, Clint Clay Tilton, Carl E. Black, Paul Steinbrecher and Harold Ward."

It was moved, seconded and passed that the report of the nominating committee be accepted, and that the Secretary cast the ballot of the Society for the directors named in the report, which was done.

Mr. Hauberg called attention to the completion of the museum building at Black Hawk State Park, and asked whether, in the opinion of those present, it would be proper for the Society to take formal action requesting that, in the interest of historical accuracy and effectiveness, it be given a voice in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits to be placed there. He stated that in his opinion historical museums frequently failed to realize their potentialities, and that he thought this failure would occur much less frequently if historical organizations were given some responsibility in connection with them. In the case of this particular museum, he felt that there existed a fine opportunity to give a complete picture of Indian life by representing the peaceful pursuits of the Indians—farming, fur-trading, mining, etc.—as well as their activities in war. Few people realize the importance of the peace-time activities of the Indians.

Mr. Angle said that the museum, being located in a state park, would be under the control of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. Mr. Kingery, the head of that department, was accustomed to call on the Society for advice and aid on historical matters coming within his jurisdiction, and Mr. Angle was certain that he would welcome the Society's help in connection with the museum. He believed also that Doctor Coggeshall, chief of the Illinois State Museum, would be glad to help make the museum as effective as possible. In view of the very cordial rela-

tions existing between the departments concerned, Mr. Angle believed that formal action by the Society would be superfluous. No formal action, therefore, was taken.

The subject of historical markers, which the Secretary had touched upon in his report, was then brought up for discussion. Mr. Angle explained that progress in marking historic places was necessarily slow—that the necessary research could be done only when more pressing duties permitted, that personal inspection of proposed sites was essential, and that the Pontiac Reformatory, at which the markers were made, was often slow in making delivery. If money for the employment of adequate help were available, and if a competent person could be secured on a part-time basis, the erection of markers could be greatly expedited, but otherwise progress would be no more rapid in the future than in the past.

There was also discussion of the proposed sale of the Illinois Historical Collections, as noted in the Secretary's Report. Mr. Angle stated that the Collections were and always had been a publication of the Illinois State Historical Library rather than of the Society, and that they had been sent to Society members only because the Trustees knew of no better list of Illinois citizens likely to be interested in the subject matter of the series. Society members, he believed, would have no just complaint at being removed from the mailing list. They would continue to receive the Journal, the Transactions, and occasional other publications without charge. Moreover, while many comparable societies charged annual dues of $3.00, the dues of the Illinois State Historical Society were only $2.00 a year.

Mr. Angle informed the Society of the death of George A. Lawrence of Galesburg, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted unanimously:

> WHEREAS, The death of George A. Lawrence has occurred since the last meeting of the Society, and
>
> WHEREAS, Mr. Lawrence was for many years a Vice-President of this Society and a contributor to its publications,
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, conscious of its debt to him, and sensible also of the loss which those who are interested in disseminating the history of our State have suffered by his death, take this means

of acknowledging his contribution to the work in which we are engaged, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of Mr. Lawrence, spread upon the records of the Society, and printed in its publication.

Mr. Angle informed the meeting of the recent publication of the first three volumes of *Territorial Papers of the United States,* and suggested that the Society express its appreciation to the Secretary of State. Accordingly, the following resolutions were adopted, and the Secretary was instructed to transmit a copy to the Hon. Cordell Hull:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Historical Society has noted the publication of the first three volumes of *Territorial Papers of the United States* by the Department of State, and

WHEREAS, These three volumes are conclusive proof of the value of the entire series not only to all who are interested in the history of our country, but more particularly to those who are interested in the history of Illinois,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society express to the Department of State its appreciation of this achievement, and particularly of the high standard of editorial work which it evinces, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That it is the earnest hope of the Society that funds for the continuation of this project will be made available.

Mr. Angle stated that in the course of a recent investigation he had learned that no official minutes, other than those printed in the annual Transactions, had been kept by the Society since 1906. He suggested that the minutes as printed in the annual volumes of Transactions be made the Society's official record by action of this meeting. On motion of Mr. Patten, seconded by Miss Norton, it was resolved that the minutes of meetings as printed in the Transactions be made the official minutes of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY May 9, 1935

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, on May 9, 1935. Present were John H. Hauberg (Acting President), and Laurence M. Larson, Theodore Calvin Pease, Henry J. Patten, Clint Clay Tilton, Paul Steinbrecher and Paul M. Angle.

Mr. Hauberg called the meeting to order, and the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

In accordance with the amendment to Article II, Section 3 of the Constitution, adopted by the Illinois State Historical Society on May 9, 1935, the Board drew lots to determine which members should serve one, two and three years respectively.

The following members drew three-year terms:

Mark D. Batchelder
Logan Hay
Henry J. Patten
Paul Steinbrecher
Lincoln H. Weldon.

The following members drew two-year terms:

Paul M. Angle
Carl E. Black
George C. Dixon
Theodore Calvin Pease
Clint Clay Tilton.

The following members drew one year terms:

Cornelius J. Doyle
Mrs. Henry English
James A. James
Laurence M. Larson
Harold Ward.

The Board then proceeded to elect the following officers for the year 1935-36: President, Otto L. Schmidt; Vice-Presidents,

James A. James, John H. Hauberg, George W. Smith, Theodore C. Pease, Evarts Boutell Greene, and John McAuley Palmer; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul M. Angle.

After extended discussion of the report of the Secretary the Board adopted a budget for the year 1935-36, and empowered Otto L. Schmidt, James A. James or Paul M. Angle, each or any one of them, to sign checks, drafts or withdrawals against the funds of the Illinois State Historical Society. The Board also constituted the President of the Society, the Secretary, and Logan Hay its executive committee with authority to exercise in an emergency all the powers possessed by the Board itself.

Considerable discussion of the Society's program of historical markers followed. It was the sentiment of the Board that more rapid progress was desirable, and to make this possible the Secretary was empowered to secure the services of a temporary assistant. He was also given authority to secure help on the topical outline of Illinois history which he had in preparation.

The absence of an official record of Board meetings having been called to their attention, the Directors by resolution declared the record of Board meetings as printed in the annual *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* up to and including the year 1934 to be the Board's official record.

The meeting then adjourned.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:

A year ago, in a report similar to this, I described the inauguration of a plan by which the Illinois State Historical Society, in coöperation with the Department of Public Works and Buildings, proposed to erect appropriate markers at historic sites along the highways of the State. At that time the project was barely under way. The texts of twenty-six markers had been approved, but none had been received from the foundry.

Today thirty markers are in place, and twelve more will soon be erected.

With more than a year's experience behind us, I think I can say that the essential soundness of our plan has been tested and proved. Because of the careful scrutiny given to each text by the advisory committee, the factual correctness of only one marker has been challenged, and as yet no proof of its inaccuracy has been advanced. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, the propriety of the markers already erected remains unquestioned. On the other hand, there has been much favorable comment, and in some localities where markers have been placed a definite increase in historical interest has been noted.

In only one respect have the difficulties been greater than was anticipated: the research necessary to insure accuracy requires more of my own time than I had expected, and since the time which I can spare from other duties is often rather strictly limited, progress has been slower than we had hoped. Sometimes many hours of investigation are necessary before an explicit text can be written, and experience indicates that a personal visit to the proposed site is also essential. At times the pressure of other duties which call for immediate attention is such that weeks—even months—pass before time can be found for work of this kind.

Another project mentioned in my report of a year ago has not yet been completed because of the lack of time. That is the topical outline of Illinois history, with suggested readings. How-

ever, considerable work has been devoted to this subject, and its publication before the end of the current year now seems certain.

Our regular publications have been issued without fail, and with reasonable promptness. In view of the fact that many similar societies have been forced to discontinue publication entirely within the last two or three years, I think we may take pride in having maintained our regular schedule, except for two double numbers of the Journal. Now, with general conditions improving, it seems unlikely that we shall have to resort again to even this relatively harmless expedient.

One matter in connection with publications must be brought to the attention of the Directors and the Society. In the past, the successive volumes of the *Illinois Historical Collections* have been sent without charge to members of the Society. However, if a law now before the General Assembly is passed—and all indications are that it will be passed—this practice must be discontinued.

The *Illinois Historical Collections* are a publication of the Illinois State Historical Library rather than of the Society. They have been sent to Society members simply because the Library Trustees knew of no better list of interested individuals. However, the demand for volumes of the Collections has increased noticeably of late, and the demand for future volumes—especially a Lincoln bibliography now in preparation—will clearly be beyond the Library's resources unless the present practice of free distribution is abandoned. Accordingly, it seemed advisable to limit free copies to public libraries in Illinois, and to charge a reasonable price ($2.50) to individual purchasers and to libraries and institutions outside the State. Authority to make such a charge is provided in the bill I have mentioned. Members of the Society will of course continue to receive the Journal and Transactions without charge.

During the past year the Society has continued its effort to maintain close and cordial relations with local societies. The Secretary has attended the meetings of a number of local groups, and has aided in the organization of a new society in Moultrie County. Articles have been written and other data supplied for several historical anniversary meetings in various parts of the State.

For a number of years the General Assembly has made an appropriation to the Historical Society which we have been able to use in part for the purchase of rare Lincolniana and other unusual books and manuscripts. During the last year we have acquired with this fund a number of very desirable items. A letter from Abraham Lincoln to W. H. Young, July 19, 1857, concerning a law suit to be tried at Lincoln, is of outstanding interest. We were also fortunate in securing a long autograph letter of Robert T. Lincoln, May 8, 1901, relating to the lot in Lincoln, Illinois, which his father had owned. An autograph note by Mrs. Lincoln, and an autographed copy of a book which she had once owned, were also acquired. An important letter from Grant to McClernand during the Vicksburg campaign (March 18, 1663), a letter of William Tecumseh Sherman (Nov. 22, 1872) describing how he came to receive his middle name, and a fine ambrotype of Stephen A. Douglas were other welcome acquisitions.

Other important additions were made to our manuscript collection. Of great interest and value is the journal of a trip from Newark, New Jersey to Edwardsville, Illinois, in the fall and winter of 1819. A series of family letters written by William H. Tebbetts from 1853 to 1862 provide a fine picture of living conditions in a number of northern Illinois towns—notably Peoria, Metamora, Wataga and Galesburg. A number of Civil War letters written by W. S. G. Allen in 1862 and 1863 also came into our possession.

An unusual acquisition was twenty-three original pen and ink drawings of Illinois and Missouri scenes made in the 1840's. Another rarity which we secured was a complete file of *Old Hickory,* the Democratic campaign newspaper published at Springfield in 1840. No other file is known to exist. Finally, we were fortunate in obtaining a fine copy of James O. Lewis's *Aboriginal Portfolio,* one of the rarest of the important collections of early Indian prints.

During the year, forty new members have joined the Society. It is with regret that I announce the deaths of the following members:

Frank L. Baer.....Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Roy Ide.....Springfield
William H. Jackson.....Toulon
James Langland .....Chicago
George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
William F. Lodge.....Monticello
Gertrude Moller.....Mt. Vernon
Eugene Willard Montgomery.....Galena
Thomas S. Moore.....Robinson
Joy Morton .....Chicago
Viola Norman .....Chicago
R. B. Pearce.....White Hall
Andrew Russel .....Jacksonville
William R. Sandham.....Wyoming
Dr. C. M. Service.....Springfield
James A. Stone.....Farmingdale
Lewis F. Thomas.....Polo
Mrs. Elizabeth Gage Beach.....Litchfield
Mrs. Ella C. Laughlin Pritchett.....Dana

Respectfully submitted,
PAUL M. ANGLE.

REPORT OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMITTEE

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:

Your committee respectfully reports that during the past year the following local histories and genealogies have been acquired. To the many donors of family histories we wish to express the Society's deep gratitude.

LOCAL HISTORIES

CONNECTICUT

Andrews, Charles McLean. *The Beginnings of Connecticut, 1632-1662.* Tercentenary Publication No. 32. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Dutcher, George Matthew. *Connecticut's Tercentenary, a Retrospect of Three Centuries.* Tercentenary Publication No. 29. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Erving, Henry Wood. *The Hartford Chest.* Tercentenary Publication No. 22. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Fisher, Samuel Herbert. *The Litchfield Law School, 1775-1833.* Tercentenary Publication No. 21. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933.)

Hoopes, Penrose R. *Early Clockmaking in Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 23. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Johnson, Frances Hall. *Music Vale Seminary, 1835-1876.* Tercentenary Publication No. 27. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Mitchell, Mrs. Mary (Hewitt). *The Great Awakening and Other Revivals in the Religious Life of Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 26. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Peck, Epaphroditus. *The Loyalists of Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 31. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Roe, Joseph Wickham. *Connecticut Inventors.* Tercentenary Publication No. 33. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Rosenberry, Mrs. Lois (Kimball) Mathews. *Migrations from Connecticut Prior to 1800.* Tercentenary Publication No. 28. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

Seymour, Origen Storrs. *The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 30. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Ecker, Grace Dunlop. *A Portrait of Old George Town.* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1934.)

Smith, Mrs. Margaret (Bayard). *Forty Years of Washington Society Portrayed by the Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) from the Collection of her Grandson, J. Henley Smith.* Edited by Gaillard Hunt. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1906.)

ILLINOIS

Allen's Blue Book, Street and Ave. Guide for the City of Peoria, 1889-90. Vol. 1. (Peoria, Ill., Published by Mrs. S. E. Allen, 1889.)

Baldwin, John H. *"Mendon's First 100 Years." Historical Narrative, 1834-1934, Commemorating the Founding of the Village First Called 'Fairfield' on June 10, 1834, as Part of the Centennial Pageant Given in Mendon Park, Sept. 1, 1934.* (Mendon, Ill.: Mendon Dispatch-Times print., n. d.)

Bregstone, Philip Pollock. *Chicago and its Jews.* (Chicago: Privately published, c1933.)

Brown, William Barrick. *The History of a Famous Court House Located at Carlinville, Illinois.* (Carlinville: Carlinville Democrat, 1934.)

Butler, Roy G. *Early History of La Harpe, Illinois and Vicinity.* No imprint.

Carlinville, Ill. First Presbyterian Church. *Centennial, the First Presbyterian Church, Carlinville, Ill.* No imprint. Mimeographed.

Cavins, William F. *The Lincoln Family—Neighbors of our Fathers.* (Mattoon, Ill.: 80th Anniversary Lincoln Day Committee, 1934.)

Cook, John Williston & McHugh, James V. *A History of the Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois.* (Bloomington, Ill.: Pantagraph Printing and Binding Establishment, 1882.)

Daughters of the American Revolution. Illinois. *Thirty-seventh Annual State Conference . . . . March Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third, Nineteen Hundred Thirty-three, First Presbyterian Church, Alton, Illinois.* (Morris, Ill.: The Morris Herald, n. d.)

De Kalb County, Ill. Centennial Association. *Centennial Program, September 11-14 . . . . official souvenir . . . . 1834-1934.* No imprint.

Franks, J. W. & Sons. *Franks' Peoria County Directory, 1904.* Vol. 1. (Peoria, Ill.: Franks' Peoria City Directory Company, 1904.)

Hayne, Coe. *They who made the way . . . . Baptists One Hundred Years Ago in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin.* (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, n. d.)

Holland's Bloomington City Directory, for 1868-9. Vol. 1. (Chicago: Western Publishing Company, 1868.)

Holland's Business Directory of Naperville, Ill., for 1886. (Chicago: Holland Publishing Company, 1886.)

Illinois Association of Sons of Vermont, Chicago. *Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Annual Reports. . . .* (Chicago: S. D. Childs & Co., Printers, 1886.)

Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill. *Catalogues. 1887/88-1901/02.* Complete lists of graduates included.

McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. *The Seventh Triennial Catalogue of M'Kendree College, 1858-9.* (St. Louis: R. P. Studley, Printer, 1858.)

Maywood Company, Chicago. *Annual Reports. First, 1869. Second, 1871.* (Chicago: Republican Job Printing Co., 1870-1871.)

Maywood Company, Chicago. *Maywood, a Suburb of Chicago, as it is in 1870.* (Chicago: Republican Printing & Engraving Company, 1870.)

National Society Daughters of the American Colonists. Illinois Branch. *Year Book, 1934-1935.* No imprint.

North-western University, Evanston, Ill. *Catalogue, 1861-62.* (Evanston: S. P. Rounds, Printer, 1862.)

Olney, Ill. First Methodist Episcopal Church. *Historical Sketch of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Olney, Illinois, 1841-1909.* No imprint.

Pekin, Ill. *Directory of the City of Pekin, Illinois for 1898.* (Pekin: W. H. Bates, Printer, c1897.)

Peoria, Ill. First Congregational Church. *Seventy-fifth Anniversary First Congregational Church, Peoria, Ill., 1834-1909.* (Peoria: The Duroc Press, 1910.)

Portrait and Biographical Album of Stephenson County, Ill. (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1888.)

Root, Omi Earl, comp. *Root's Peoria City Directory for 1871-'72.* Sixteenth Year. (Peoria, Ill.: N. C. Nason, Printer, 1871.)

Rorebeck & Andrus. *Rockford Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror.* Vol. 1, 1866. (Rockford, Ill.: Register Company Book & Job Print., 1866.)

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Invitation to the Centenary Celebration of the First Permanent Settlement of Norwegians in the U. S., Ottawa, Ill., June 22-24, 1934. (Chicago: C. L. Ricketts, 1934.)

Townsend, Walter A. *Illinois Democracy: a History of the Party and its Representative Members, Past and Present.* (Springfield: Democratic Historical Association, Inc., 1935.)

Woman's Relief Corps. Department of Illinois. *Journal of the Fifty-first Annual Convention . . . . Galesburg, Illinois, June 5, 6, 7, 1934.* (Monticello, Ill.: The Republican Printing Company, n. d.)

INDIANA

Burns, Lee. *Early Architects and Builders of Indiana.* Indiana Historical Society. Publications. Vol. 11, No. 3. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1935.)

Porter, W. Arthur, comp. *A History of Union Presbyterian Church, Walnut Township, Montgomery County, Indiana, 1834-1934.* (Minneapolis?: Published by the Author?, 1934?)

Society of Indiana Pioneers. *Year Book, 1934.* (Indianapolis?: Printed by Order of the Board of Governors, 1934?)

KENTUCKY

Dorris, Jonathan Truman. *A Glimpse at Historic Madison County and Richmond, Kentucky.* Issued by The Richmond Chamber of Commerce & the Madison County Historical Society. (Richmond: The Richmond Daily Register Company, 1934.)

Union Soldiers and Sailors Monument Association, Louisville, Ky. *The Union Regiments of Kentucky. . . .* (Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1897.)

LOUISIANA

King, Grace Elizabeth. *Creole Families of New Orleans.* (New York: Macmillan, 1921.)

Persac. *Plantations on the Mississippi River from Natchez to New Orleans, 1858.* Drawn by Joseph Aiena. (New York: Rand, McNally & Company, c1931.)

Read, William Alexander. *Louisiana-French.* Louisiana State University Studies. No. 5. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1931.)

MARYLAND

Maryland. Commission on the Publication of the Histories of the Maryland Volunteers During the Civil War. *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5.* Prepared by L. Allison Wilmer & Others. 2 Vols. (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Company, 1898-9.)

Maryland Historical Society. *Archives of Maryland.* Vol. 51. *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669-1679.* J. Hall Pleasants, Editor. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1934.)

Newman, Harry Wright. *Anne Arundel Gentry: a Genealogical History of Twenty-two Pioneers of Anne Arundel County, Md., and Their Descendants.* (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1933.)

MASSACHUSETTS

Cornish, Louis Craig. *The Settlement of Hingham, Massachusetts.* (Boston: The Rockwell & Churchill Press, 1911.)

NEW JERSEY

Craig, H. Stanley, comp. *Cumberland County (New Jersey) Marriages.* (Merchantville, N. J.: H. S. Craig, 1932.)

Craig, H. Stanley, comp. *Salem County, New Jersey, Genealogical Data; Records Pertaining to Persons Residing in Salem County Prior to 1800.* (Merchantville, N. J.: H. S. Craig, 1934.)

Errickson, Sarah R. *History of Manasquan, From a Paper Read . . . . at a Meeting of the Woman's Club of Manasquan, April 2nd, 1917.* (Manasquan, N. J.: Manasquan National Bank, c1923.)

NEW YORK

The Dutch Settlers Society of Albany. *Yearbook, 1932-1934.* Vols. 8 and 9. (Albany, N. Y.: The Dutch Settlers Society of Albany, c1934.)

Foley, Janet Wethy. *Early Settlers of Western New York.* Vol. 1. No. 1. July, 1934. (Akron, N. Y.: T. J. Foley.)

New York State Historical Association. *History of the State of New York.* Edited by Alexander C. Flick. Vols. 1-4. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.)

NORTH CAROLINA

Boyd, William Kenneth. *The Story of Durham, City of the New South.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1927.)

Paschal, George Washington, *History of North Carolina Baptists.* Vol. 1, 1663-1805. (Raleigh: The General Board, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1930.)

ONTARIO

Fraser, William. *Diary . . . . (1834-1835); With an Introductory Essay on Early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario, by Harry E. Parker.* Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society. Part 14. 1930. (London, Ontario: The Art Printing Company, 1930.)

Ontario. Bureau of Archives. *Twenty-second Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, by Alexander Fraser.* 1933. (Toronto: Herbert H. Ball, 1934.)

PENNSYLVANIA

Shenk, Hiram Herr, ed. *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania.* (Harrisburg, Penn.: The National Historical Association, 1932.)

Strassburger, Ralph Beaver. *Pennsylvania German Pioneers; a Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808.* Edited by William John Hinke. 3 Vols. (Norristown, Penn.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1934.)

RHODE ISLAND

Miller, William Davis. *The Narragansett Planters.* Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1933. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1934.)

TENNESSEE

Acklen, Mrs. Jeannette (Tillotson), comp. *Tennessee Records.* 2 Vols. (Nashville: Cullom & Ghertner Company, 1933.)

Morrow, Mrs. Gene Juneau (White). *Historical Notes: Clarksville, 1784-1865; an Official Publication of the Clarksville Sesquicentennial.* (Clarksville, Tenn.: Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, c1934.)

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PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1935

GENESIS OF A RAILROAD

By Earnest Elmo Calkins*

Internal Improvements

Among the early lithographs bearing the magic signature of N. Currier is one seldom sought by collectors. It is an ambitious plot of the town of Oquawka, extending fourteen blocks along the river, and nine blocks inland, with quays, fish market, public square, churches and schools. The print is all that is now left of a pioneer dream of grandeur. Oquawka lies on the Illinois side of the Mississippi where that river makes a big bend to the east just above Burlington, and is hardly bigger today than when the farmers of the Military Tract hauled corn and pork to its wharf to catch the New Orleans steamboats. It was in 1836 that the beautiful lithograph was made. Once again in the 1850s opportunity knocked at its door, but Oquawka failed to respond. It was still a small village and apparently reconciled to its fate. Otherwise history would have been different, and its quaint Indian name might have become the nationally known sobriquet of a certain proud railroad system, as has been the fortune of its nearest neighbor, Burlington.

Already in 1830, twelve years after receiving the accolade of statehood by padding its census returns a bit, Illinois was yearning for transportation of some sort, and debating the comparative advantages of water and rails, with the apparent success of the Erie Canal and the problematic workings of the few crude railroad experiments on the Atlantic seaboard as its inspiration and guide.

The growth of the State thus far had been conditioned by its physical geography. Almost surrounded by navigable streams, and with a great lake in its upper right hand corner, settlement had clung to its margins, principally in the south, leaving the far better land in the interior unpeopled and virgin to the plow. Those

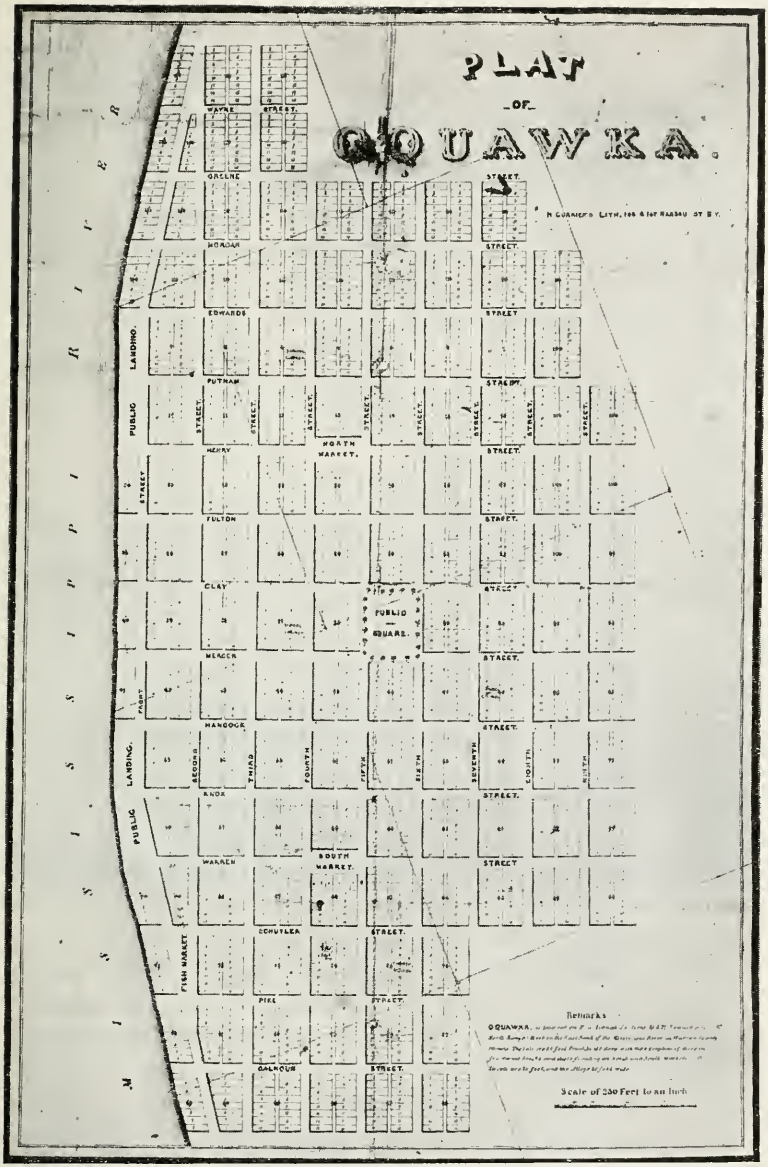
* Earnest Elmo Calkins is better known as an advertising man (Calkins & Holden) and writer (*Louder, Please*, and other books and articles) than as an historian. However, he is now at work on a history of Galesburg, where he lived for several years, and Knox College, where he graduated in 1891. "Genesis of a Railroad" was read before the Illinois State Historical Society at its annual meeting in May, 1935.

settlements strung along the rivers—Shawneetown, Golconda, Metropolis, Cairo, Cahokia, Kaskaskia—the confiding settlers fondly believed were all destined to be great cities. Cairo was as big as Chicago, and there were many—not speculators, but honest, trustful citizens—who imagined the village at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi had a better chance of becoming the metropolis of the west than the village on Lake Michigan. Boom followed boom in Cairo, but nothing could raise it from its swamps. Rumor says Dickens invested in its alleged improvements some of the money poured out so lavishly to hear him read his books, and that was why he lambasted it so ferociously in *Martin Chuzzlewit.*

The earliest wagon roads, such as they were, ran to and from these melancholy towns, and connected them with St. Louis. Many were paved with planks, in the north as well as the south, and there was a mild boom in such wooden turnpikes, which answered fairly well while they lasted, and proved profitable to their promoters. But the people were clamoring for something better, either water or rails. They knew little about canals, and nothing at all about railroads (nor did anyone else at that time) but they did know that their deep black soil became deep black mud in wet weather, incapable of supporting anything on wheels, and that hard roads of some description must be provided to move settlers in and produce out. Their instinct was sound in asking for transportation; the mistake was in attempting to do the job on a wholesale basis, and no one foresaw how completely railroads would transform the avenues of colonization, or what it would do to water borne traffic, just as later no one foresaw the effect of the motor bus and airplane on rail borne traffic. In our time the great Erie Canal, the pride of New York State, which did yeoman service in peopling Illinois, has died from disuse and has now been decently buried.

The legislature had already authorized a canal to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, but in Baltimore there was a primitive railroad in actual operation, and James Bucklin, engineer of the canal, went east and looked at it, and when he came back he was a railroad man. He advised a railroad, and figured it could be built for $25,000 a mile, while the canal would cost $100,000.

But this was a water era. Governor Duncan stood back of the canal, and clinched his position with the argument that even if



PLAT OF OQUAWKA

From a lithograph by N. Currier, published between 1836 and 1841. An account of this plat is given in the 1882 History of Henderson and Mercer Counties, pages 936-938.

(Reproduced from a rare copy of the map in the collection of Edward Caldwell, New York.)

the canal was closed by ice in winter, so was the lake, and thus no harm would be done. The canal was built, but it came too late. The greatest service it rendered was in settling the lands along its right of way, which it did before it was completed. But long before it was ready for traffic, the legislature launched a plan of railroad promotion that would have gridded the State from end to end with iron roads having more mileage than there was in all the rest of the country combined. This fantastic scheme, known as the Internal Improvement Act, provided for more than 1300 miles of railroad construction. A north and south line was to connect Cairo with Galena—where the earliest settlers found lead and Lincoln found Grant—with a branch to the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and four east and west lines bisecting it at strategic points, the whole to cost twenty million dollars, or $268 for every family then living in the State. Nearly every county would get a piece of railroad, and a bonus was to be divided among counties omitted in this comprehensive program. As it turned out, these were the only sections benefitted by the act. Work was to be pushed with the greatest dispatch; construction to begin at both ends of each section and at the crossing of all streams. Among the legislators who voted for this pioneer pork barrel was a long, loose-jointed, sardonic representative from Sangamon County named Abraham Lincoln.

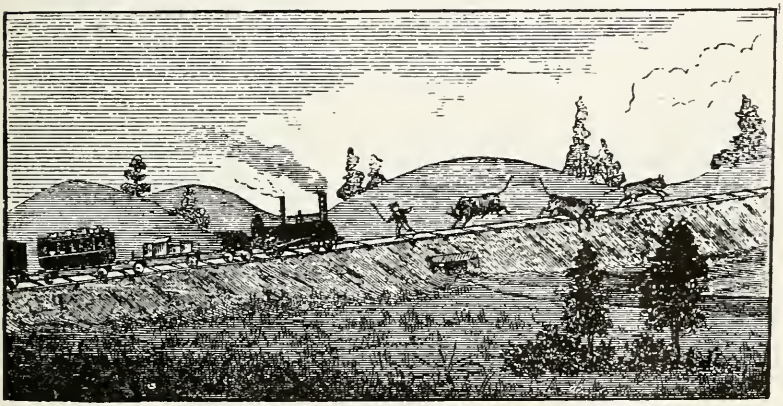
In 1841 the bubble burst, saddling the State with a debt of fourteen millions, with nothing to show for it but a stretch of completed railway from Jacksonville to Meredosia twenty-four miles long, of wooden rails strapped with iron, known as the Northern Cross. Over this line in 1838 passed the first engine and train to move on rails in Illinois. Engines, like ships and canal boats, had names in those days, and this historic locomotive was called 'Rogers.' A previous one built in the east and shipped by water was lost in transit and never heard of again. 'Rogers' gave so much trouble the company often wished it had been lost, too, and it was finally sold, and mules installed as motive power, thus getting back to first principles again.

THE HORN OF PLENTY

The year the Illinois legislature passed its ill-starred Internal Improvement Act, a company of farmers from the Mohawk valley

of New York, or 'York State' as they called it, moved quietly in covered wagons to the very heart of the Military Tract and founded the village of Galesburg. Their leader was a Presbyterian clergyman named George Washington Gale; their purpose to establish a 'literary institution in the valley of the Mississippi' to train young men as ministers to convert the people of the new country, who were 'enemies no less of civil liberty than of pure gospel.' In addition to this sacred mission, the opportunity to exchange the thin soil of their New York farms for the fat lands of Illinois was not without weight.

The Military Tract, so named because its lands had been set aside by Congress as bounties for the veterans of the War of 1812,



PERILS OF RAILROADING IN 1845

From Potter's American Monthly Magazine.

occupied the triangle formed by the Illinois and the Mississippi, extending north almost to Rock River; on the map shaped like a cornucopia, but to these Bible-steeped pioneers it was Mesopotamia. It was high prairie, the most fertile soil in the State—possibly in the whole country—but the veterans had been slow to take advantage of their privileges. It was sparsely settled by 'poor whites' from the south who had left their own states because even negroes looked down on whites too poor to own slaves.

These slack and easy-going Hoosiers or 'Suckers,' though outwardly friendly and hospitable, viewed with suspicion the intruding

Yankees who had come not only to save their souls and impose their system, but by their energy and shrewdness despoil them of more material advantages. They were opposed on slavery, temperance, religion; on every social and moral issue. The newcomers staked out their township in Knox County, which the southerners had recently organized (the required number of legal voters being faked, as usual) with the county seat at Knoxville, and between this village and the settlement on the prairie only five miles away there was a jealousy and hostility, which the events of the next few decades were to fan into a formidable feud.

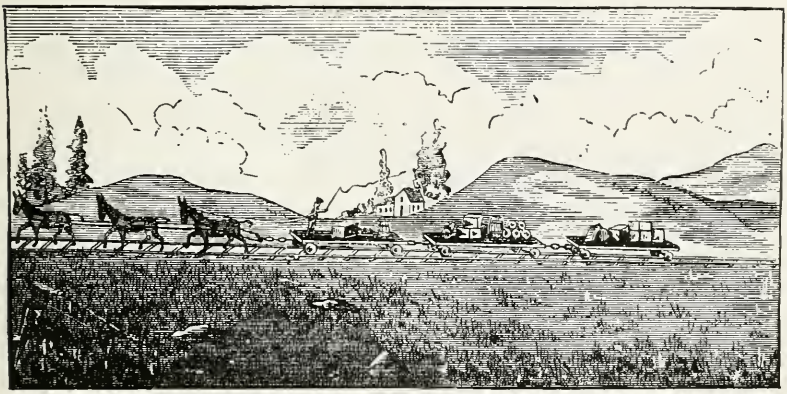
The new settlers found the rich black soil out of which grew the tall corn—so characteristic a feature of Illinois landscape—the chief obstacle in moving their crops to market. Only with the greatest difficulty had they reached the promised land, traveling in wagon trains across the Illinois prairies so as to have enough horse power at hand to pull the wagons out of the 'sloughs' or mud and water holes scattered over the prairies. Travelers were sometimes stuck—'slued' they called it, the horses often disappearing entirely. So liquid was the mud on Galesburg's main street that in wet seasons Pat Dunigan, pioneer hackman, transported passengers in a boat drawn by horses. Driving from Galesburg to Geneseo in a buggy as a small boy in the seventies, I remember that we were so badly mired by an unexpected rainstorm we had to abandon the trip and spend the night at a village halfway. Few today in this era of hard roads can even imagine what an impediment to wheeled progress that deep sticky prairie mud can be.

The settlers had got in; the problem was to get their produce, their one source of wealth, out again. Their nearest contact with running water, and consequently with markets, was Oquawka on the Mississippi thirty-five miles away. Grain was hauled in dry weather to shipping points—Chicago, Peoria, Oquawka; cattle and hogs traveled on their own feet. Both methods of conveyance frequently resulted in a net loss.

Transportation was essential to the Galesburgers as well as to the whole country, but during the time their newly-adopted state was going through the throes of its premature railroad boom the colony was too greatly occupied in establishing itself on the land to take much interest. For the first few years it was self-

contained and self-sustained, more than usually isolated because of lack of sympathy between it and its neighbors, a little island of straight-laced Puritanism in a sea of shouting Methodists, slack farmers, slovenly housekeepers and irresponsible squatters, the people they had come west to save from eternal damnation. The Galesburgers were Whigs in a Democratic state, abolitionists in a pro-slavery community, and sharp Yankees to boot. The 'Hoosiers' looked upon them as interlopers.

Rude roads had been developed from the Indian trails, which had in their turn been tramped out by that primitive engineer, the buffalo, and a service by stage coach set up, with more or less



Mule Power on the Northern Cross, 1845

From a pencil sketch by E. Brunat, Keokuk, Iowa, from Potter's American Monthly Magazine.

regular runs to Peoria, Oquawka and Rock Island. Such traveling as was necessary was a tedious and roundabout undertaking. Orville H. Browning of Quincy, who completed Stephen A. Douglas' unexpired term as United States Senator, and to whose wife Lincoln wrote the famous letter humorously describing his love affair with the fair but fat Mary Owens, was a trustee of Knox College at Galesburg. He tells in his diary how in order to attend a board meeting he took passage on the river steamboat *Westerner*, leaving Quincy at eleven in the morning and arriving at Keokuk at four. The next morning he was driven above the rapids to Montrose in a coach, took passage in another packet at

ten o'clock, which reached Burlington early the following morning. He remained there all day and part of the night, and left at one a. m. on the *Jenny Lind,* arriving at Oquawka at daybreak. From there he took the stage to Galesburg, which he reached at ten o'clock at night, an itinerary occupying three and one-half days from Quincy to Galesburg, now covered in two hours and fifteen minutes by train.

The upper Mississippi valley was ripe for transportation. Iowa had become a state; gold had been discovered in California; labor-saving farm machinery had been produced in answer to the demand from the prairies, not the least revolutionary of which, the steel self-scouring plow which added millions to the value of western farms, was invented by Harvey May of Galesburg. Nothing more was needed but railroads to carry the grain and live stock of the West to the markets of the East. The cornucopia of the Military Tract was ready to become a veritable 'horn of plenty.' The good burghers of the tiny village of Galesburg, who had lost neither their vision nor their courage, were among those who perceived that the time had come for the West to fulfil its destiny.

None of the railroads contemplated by the Internal Improvement Act was planned to enter Knox County. Colonel William McMurtry of Henderson, at that time its representative at Springfield, had wisely preferred the cash, with which the county had thriftily built the new court house which still stands today at Knoxville, an example of the Greek revival in official architecture. The line nearest Galesburg of all that wild attempt to plaster the State with rails was that short stretch actually completed, after a fashion, the Northern Cross from Meredosia to Springfield, near the southern end of the Military Tract. With railroad speculation in the air, Galesburg was bound to think of it as a solution of its chief difficulty, though what really stirred it to definite and far-reaching action was an unfriendly gesture from the direction of Knoxville.

PEORIA AND OQUAWKA

In 1849 the legislature granted a charter to the Peoria and Oquawka Railroad for a line connecting the Illinois with the Mississippi. A bee flying from Peoria to Oquawka would pass south of both Knoxville and Galesburg, but a railroad by bending

to the north could easily include both towns. Galesburg naturally believed the road would follow the stage route, but it was soon undeceived. Knoxville, with the better prospect of securing the road, for she was represented on the board of directors and had political standing at Springfield, was far more concerned in keeping Galesburg off. The contest was bitter; all the old animosity flared up. To the moral, social and political differences was added the economic, for Knoxville was shrewd enough to guess what would happen once those energetic Yankees got a railroad. That town would outgrow her, and her hold on the county seat be put in jeopardy. Meetings were held back and forth in both towns throughout the fall, but nothing came of them. The county might have accomplished something by acting as a unit, but its allegiance was divided, and concerted action was impossible.

The Peoria and Oquawka was capitalized at half a million, and its promoters were unsophisticated enough to believe it could be built for $750,000. Considerable money was raised, and construction was begun at both ends, after the example set by the Internal Improvement fiasco, but both ends were slow in getting started. Trouble over the charter delayed things at Peoria, and lest she have no railroad at all another group secured the reversion of the old Peoria and Warsaw grade, relic of the Internal Improvement, and started still another road, to be known as the Peoria and Mississippi, intending to go through Farmington to Burlington and ignore not only Galesburg but Knoxville. This venture got as far as Farmington, when the original crowd got the kinks in its charter ironed out, and built as far as Elmwood before money gave out.

Except in name, the road never was the Peoria and Oquawka, for Burlington horned in, and there were two contenders for the western terminal, and the controversy between the towns lasted for a year or more. The Burlington *Telegraph* and the Oquawka *Spectator* exchanged the amenities so characteristic of prairie journalism of that day. When the *Telegraph* spoke of the 'main line' to Burlington, the *Spectator* explained that 'Burlington was only opposite the end of an eight-mile branch.' However, grading was begun at the point on the bank of the river opposite Burlington, and according to one authority the road was built as far as 'Little America.' W. W. Baldwin, former vice-president of

the C. B. & Q., and possibly the only man alive who knows anything about the early history of the road, thinks that no actual rails were laid until eastern funds were obtained, which was when Galesburg became a decisive factor. On the other hand, the map of the road as it exists today shows that both ends of the Peoria and Oquawka must have been built to points near Galesburg before there was any intention of going through that town, for they swerve north at the last moment, mutely witnessing the eleventh hour change of plan.

In poking round amid early Illinois history one finds that many of the names of towns bestowed light-heartedly by the pioneers were changed later by smug busybodies unable to appreciate the humor and raciness, and sometimes significance of the original appellations. You will look in vain on the map for Young America; it is now known by the commonplace name of Kirkwood. Yellow Banks became Oquawka, in this case reversing the process, going from English to Indian; that is, from the worse to the better. Oquawka is an Algonquin word meaning 'Yellow Earth.' Warsaw once rejoiced in the delightful cognomen of Spunky Point. John Hay tells with amusing spleen how some idiots, who had read Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw,* a book that had great vogue in the fifties, thought Warsaw more genteel, and hopes that every man engaged in the outrage is called 'Smith' in heaven.

So now there were two lines, one of them striking west from Peoria, one extending east from Burlington, with no money to go further and unite them, and no agreement as to where they would be united, while Knoxville continued her struggle to keep Galesburg off and was in danger of going off herself. John Denny, whose family later founded the city of Seattle in the state of Washington, was the representative of Knox County at Springfield. He owed nothing to the troublesome abolitionists at Galesburg, and was ready to do whatever Knoxville wanted. He managed to have the Peoria and Oquawka charter amended to establish the line through Knoxville and Monmouth, leaving Galesburg three miles off the way. The very shortness of the miss was an added exasperation. It spurred the citizens of that town to an action which determined the territory and route of one of the country's great railroad systems.

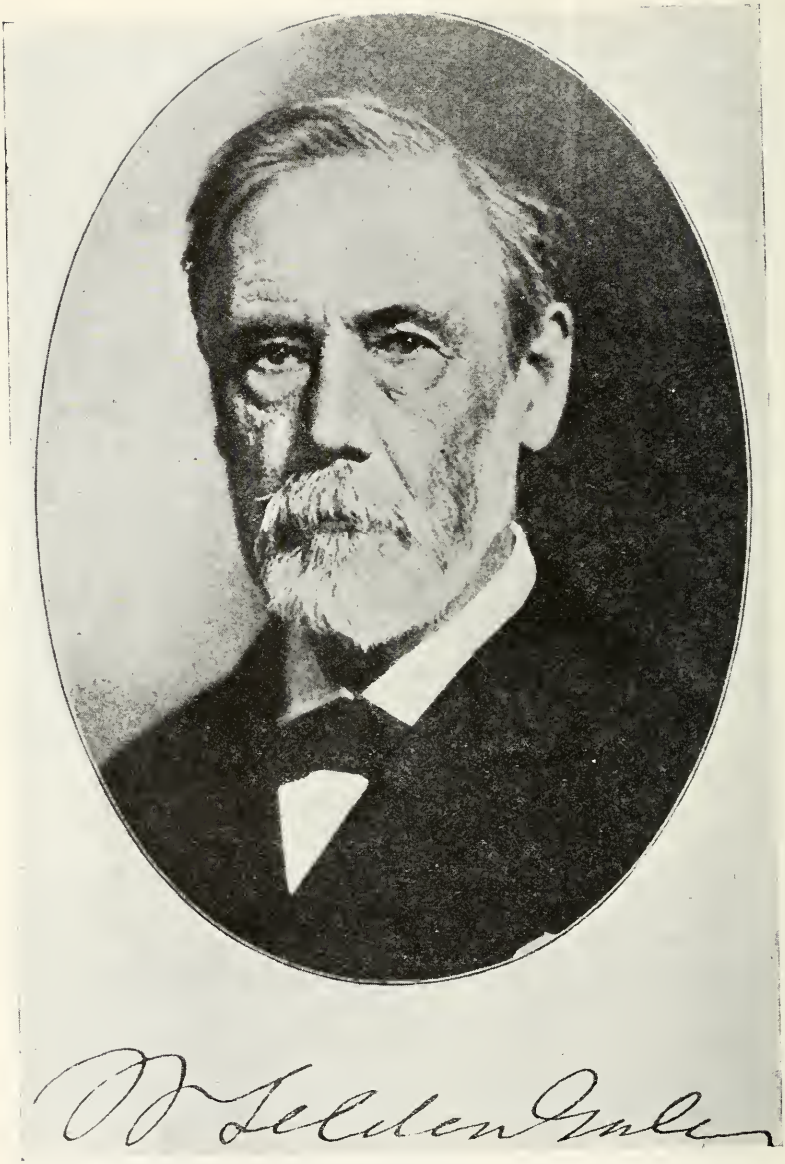
Meanwhile another line bobbed up to add to the confusion and increase the excitement. In Quincy the old charter of the Northern Cross Railroad, under which had been built the pioneer line from Meredosia to Jacksonville and which had since been extended from Quincy to Springfield, was submitted to the legislature for amendment and came forth equipped with a strange roving commission so popular in those days, whereby the company was given authority 'to build a lateral branch from some point in Adams County, and running thence on the most eligible, beneficial, expedient and practicable route through the Military Bounty Tract, and terminating at the most convenient and eligible point at or near the southern termination of the Chicago Canal, provided the said Company shall not locate or construct the said branch upon any line east of the town of Knoxville in Knox County,' which practically gave the road to Knoxville. It was another black eye for Galesburg, as well as further occasion for contest—another pawn in the game of railroad chess played by various small communities with populations less than a thousand each.

Thus three prospective railroad lines hung dangling, one from Peoria, one from Quincy, and one from Burlington, with no place to go and no money to pay for going, while both Knoxville and Galesburg schemed and pulled wires to join these loose ends in their respective villages.

Chauncey Colton

In 1850 Galesburg was a mere hamlet of 882 population and was spoken of in the college catalogue as being on the 'main stage line between Peoria and Oquawka.' 'Hendersonville and Galesboro are small villages a few miles from Knoxville.'—*Emigrants Guide.*

Twelve years before, the ground on which it stood had been unbroken prairie. It was a remarkably homogenous population, no doubt driven in on itself by its locally peculiar and unpopular views on temperance, slavery and the gospel of hard work. The men who founded the town, and broke the first ground, were still alive and active in the conduct of its affairs. They were not captains of industry or financiers or promoters, but simple, pious pioneers who had learned to work together for a common object by assembling at log-raisings to help rear each other's houses.



William Selden Gale

Son of George W. Gale (founder of Galesburg) editor of The Newsletter, 37 years supervisor of Knox County, state legislator, delegate to constitutional convention, and one of the men who made possible the C. B. & Q.

Every one of Galesburg's 882 inhabitants was greatly excited over the possible advent of a railroad, but among the more active were a few who took the lead and brought the enterprise to a triumphant conclusion. Among such leaders were the Rev. George W. Gale, a New School Presbyterian clergyman, god-father of the town and founder of its college, of which he was both professor and trustee, pious and dyspeptic, now growing old, touchy, irritable and inclined to be jealous of his prerogatives; his son Selden Gale, lawyer, postmaster, farmer and editor of the *Newsletter,* the town's first newspaper, who was rapidly taking a place as a leading force in the community; James Bunce, the first doctor in the settlement, son-in-law of old Silvanus Ferris, and representing the interests of that sturdy old pioneer who had ably supported Gale's colonization plan and moved to Galesburg with five of his sons, for each of whom as well as for his daughter he had bought a large farm (640 acres). (This family had holdings of more than six thousand acres.) There was also Silas Willard, not one of the original devout group, but the husband of Cordelia Chambers, whose father was a pioneer, and now one of the town's merchants. Nor should we overlook Jonathan Blanchard, president of the college, whose position carried a certain social and moral prestige had he needed it, which he did not, for he was a self-righteous, positive, outspoken, dominating if not domineering arbiter of morals, firmly against everything that was sin, and looking upon nearly everything as sin, a fearless abolitionist, a foe of the demon rum, upholder of the Puritan Sabbath, and the scourge of freemasonry. He was naturally in favor of the railroad as head of the college which, as the largest landowner in the community, stood to profit most, but primed and on guard against any inroads upon the sanctity and godliness of the town which he had until now kept unspotted from the world. He was strong and courageous. In spite of his intolerance and doctrine of infallibility, he was popular with the students, for when his resignation was forced by the trustees, the senior class refused to graduate.

But it was undoubtedly Chauncey Sill Colton who more than any other secured for Galesburg the privilege of being a railroad center and thus put the town on the map. He was not one of the original band, but was one of the earliest arrivals—an ambitious lad from New England, seeking to carve out a fortune in the new

CHAUNCEY SILL COLTON

Galesburg's first merchant, philanthropist, banker, hotel owner, who joined with Silas Willard in the final subscription which clinched the offer of eastern capitalists to make the railroad a continuous line from Burlington to Chicago.

West. He brought to this group of pious farmers and clergymen what it so sorely needed, practical common business sense. So strong was his merchandising instinct that before he left the East to join the colony he ordered in New York a bill of such goods as he thought would be in demand in the new country, to follow him by water around by the Gulf of Mexico and up the Mississippi to Oquawka. Before picking a location, he surveyed the scene of his venture with a shrewd appraising eye, noting that there already was at Knoxville, the county seat and largest town in the county, a flourishing and well-managed store conducted by Herman Knox, sufficient for that neighborhood; that Henderson, the next choice, was a settlement of Southerners who made merry on Saturdays with outdoor sports, horse races, gander pullings, wrestling bouts—much like the New Salem of Lincoln's youth—and bet their money on such contests with frequent pulls at the whiskey jug, and that on Sundays they had little inclination for church; but that over at Galesburg the farmers worked hard all the week and spent their Sundays in divine worship, and were a serious people who took life seriously; that while he, Colton, was not a church member, nor even a professing Christian, and had no strong convictions on temperance, still it would be necessary for many years to give long credit, waiting for his money until crops were harvested, and taking his pay in produce, and that therefore he might do business more profitably with the sober, church-going Yankees than with the livelier pleasure-loving Hoosiers.

So he built with his own hands the first store in Galesburg, on the public square, cutting the tall prairie grass in front of it with a scythe, and stocked it with the goods which had opportunely arrived from New York in time, and proceeded to deflect a certain amount of trade from Herman Knox at Knoxville. He engaged in every activity that promised profit, traded goods for the farmers' corn and hogs, and shipped the first consignment of grain and pork down the river. Naturally he prospered, but he proved a good friend to the settlement he had adopted. He built the first schoolhouse out of his own pocket, and furnished the funds to complete the church when its members were unable to pay their subscriptions, and let them trade it out later in produce.

He became in time the richest man in town, and later, after the railroad came, he organized two banks, and built the town's chief hotel. He served for forty years as a trustee of the college.

Such were the men who were about to engage in what has nowadays become a major operation of high finance, railroad promotion; a group of small town farmers, college professors and country storekeepers, few of whom had yet seen a railroad, but who had had the gumption to create a city and a college on the virgin prairies.

THE CENTRAL MILITARY TRACT

These men and their neighbors were incensed at the tactics of Knoxville; they dropped the struggle to persuade the Peoria and Oquawka line to swing its road three miles farther north; they refused to become excited over the Northern Cross slowly approaching their territory from the direction of Quincy; they decided to go in for railroad promotion on their own hook, build their own line, build in the direction of Chicago, or to connect with a line leading to Chicago, of which there were myriads on paper, and thus not only have a road beyond gainsay, but an irresistible magnet for any road coming east or north.

It was rumored that a road known as the LaSalle and Rock Island was planning to pass somewhere north of Galesburg. Overtures were made, and received with open arms. Selden Gale saw Marcus Belden, one of its directors, who told him the proposed road would probably follow the old stage route through Henry County, which would bring it within thirty miles of Galesburg, either at Cambridge or Wethersfield (now Kewanee). Belden further volunteered the information that a firm of contractors named Sheffield & Farnham, which was now constructing the Michigan Central, had agreed to build the LaSalle road for $22,000 a mile, and take their pay one-half in bonds, one-third in stock, and the remainder in municipal bonds. He was quite sure the Military Tract road could make the same favorable arrangement.

The full story of this interview was published in *The Newsletter;* it became the only topic of discussion at the blacksmith shop, at Colton's store, at meetings of the college trustees, and around every fireside. The village board in an excess of zeal offered the public square as a site for a railroad station and Broad

Street, the principal thoroughfare of the town, as a right of way, but fortunately the offer was not accepted, the final route of the railway demanding entrance on the other side of the village. George Lanphere, the only Democrat on their board, was sent to Springfield with instructions to get the Peoria and Oquawka charter changed if he could; if not, then a charter for a new road. He got the latter, but the unfriendly legislators slipped a joker in it to the effect that they would regulate the rates, a provision that caused trouble later, as will be shown. Nevertheless, just five days after the Peoria and Oquawka had thumbed its nose at Galesburg, Galesburg had organized and chartered the Central Military Tract Railroad Company, with authority to build to connect with the LaSalle and Rock Island in either Henry or Bureau County. William McMurtry, from the nearby village of Henderson on the north, who had been a member of the legislature which passed the Internal Improvement Act, and was now lieutenant-governor, was made president, and Colton, Willard and the Gales, with men from the villages along the new right of way, were elected directors, and everyone in the village contributed in one way and another. The LaSalle and Rock Island was the germ of what is today the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific.

The Galesburg promoters were somewhat disturbed when the Rock Island survey finally located the nearest point fifty-four instead of thirty miles away, and on a route more difficult and expensive to construct on account of the grades, the high prairie descending to the river valleys in the neighborhood. The junction was to be at what subsequently became the town of Sheffield, originally no doubt a construction camp named for one of the members of the contracting firm. But money was raised and a survey started in the direction of Sheffield, canvassers collecting funds throughout the neighborhood and barely keeping pace with the payrolls; young George Churchill, later one of the chief professors of Knox College, being a surveyor. Farmers along the right of way opened their homes to the engineers, supplying them with warm fires, hot coffee, and frequently meals and beds, for it was winter, the country was sparsely settled, and there was no place for them to go. It was a neighborhood undertaking, like the bees and raisings.

Clark M. Carr, of Henry County, father of President Harrison's Minister to Denmark, who had had some experience with raising money for railroad enterprises, was brought to Galesburg to canvass for subscriptions.

"I have labored all day and many a day," he says, "driven in my buggy several miles to obtain as much money as would keep the engineering corps that day. So we labored and toiled several seasons until we finally established a survey to Sheffield on the Rock Island road. The enterprise then flagged for a while, until our engineers' stakes were nearly obscured, and in the meantime some of our people made overtures again to the Peoria and Oquawka interests. But our enterprise had now too far advanced, and the advantages of a direct route to Chicago, over the beautiful country now occupied by the road, were too apparent for many of us to be diverted from the enterprise which was soon so successful."

Chauncey Colton was one of those who at first preferred the Peoria and Oquawka while his friend and competitor, Silas Willard, championed the LaSalle and Rock Island. These two, opposed at first, were linked together in the final dramatic climax that removed the last obstacle, and in the meantime it was Colton whose good fortune and astuteness made possible the next decisive step.

THE AURORA BRANCH

For about this time Colton was in Boston buying goods for his Galesburg store and there he met two men; it was a critical encounter, for great things hung upon it. One of the men was J. W. Grimes, a promising young lawyer from Burlington (later to be governor of Iowa) deeply interested in the Peoria and Oquawka, but even more interested in any railroad that would connect Iowa with the eastern world, for there was not yet a mile of track west of the Mississippi.

The other was named Wadsworth—history unfortunately has not preserved his prenomen—in Boston on the same errand as Colton, namely to buy goods for his store in Aurora. He also was concerned with a short but ambitious paper railroad called the Aurora Branch, extending from what was known as the Galena Junction (now West Chicago) to Wadsworth's town of Aurora, thus

connecting the town with Chicago by the Galena and Chicago Union. This railroad was a product of the Internal Improvement Act, and was the second railroad in Illinois actually to operate. In 1869 it was consolidated with and made part of the Chicago and Northwestern.

These three men, each with a bit of railroad promotion in his hat, met at the old American House apparently by chance, but they must have been guided by a benevolent fate, for they soon discovered they had much in common. Excitedly they compared notes and exchanged views. Wadsworth explained that the Aurora Branch meant to push on to Mendota, where it would connect with the Illinois Central. He hinted at financial help from eastern capitalists interested in the Michigan Central, and mentioned a man named Joy. Finally Chauncey Colton said:

"Here we are representing three different projects, each having the same end in view; each road by itself is worth nothing. Combined in a single line the roads will prove a great venture."

He showed how a slight change in the route would enable the Military Tract to strike the Aurora Railroad at Mendota; how the Peoria and Oquawka Company by building their line to Galesburg would secure a direct line to Chicago, and how thus the foundation of a magnificent system of railroads would be established, which would become a highway for all the products of Iowa and the region west as the country developed, while the Northern Cross which we have left moving vaguely northeast from Quincy would, if connected at Galesburg, serve as a gateway to Missouri and the southwest.

The Story of James Joy

James F. Joy was one of the earliest of a new profession destined to fill a large and exciting chapter of American financial history, the railroad builders. His interests included not only Wadsworth's Aurora Branch, but the Michigan Central, a state enterprise which had been taken off the hands of Michigan by John Murray Forbes, a wealthy capitalist of Boston, who bought it for two million dollars and reorganized it under a charter drawn up by Daniel Webster.

The Michigan Central was racing with the Michigan Southern —another state enterprise now bankrupt and sold to private pro-

moters—for a terminal at Chicago, and each was concerned not only with a right of way into that city, but also a possible western connection with the fertile prairies of Illinois and Iowa. The Michigan Central hoped to get into Chicago over the Illinois Central's tracks, and the possibilities of the Aurora Branch, especially if it could be linked up with the other fragments of railroad across Illinois, was a further bid for consideration. Joy represented Forbes in his western railroad investments. He (Joy) has left an account of the negotiations which led to stringing together the fragments of railroads—the Peoria and Oquawka, the Aurora Branch and the Central Military Tract—which differs somewhat from that already given, for in it Joy seems to be the hero rather than Colton, but it has the same happy ending.

> It was in the year 1852 that I first met Chauncey Colton and some other gentlemen from Galesburg at Springfield where they were endeavoring to procure an amendment to the charter of the Central Military Tract Railway Company. I was there for the purpose of procuring an amendment to the charter of what was then the Aurora Branch Railroad Company, a short road extending thirteen miles from what was then termed the Galena Junction to Aurora.
>
> The Michigan Central Railroad had just been completed or was nearly completed to Chicago. It was seeking connections with the country west. The Illinois Central was then in process of construction through the prairie where Mendota now is from Cairo to Dubuque. The object of the amendment of the Aurora Branch charter was to enable that little company to extend its road to Mendota to connect with the Illinois Central there and furnish an avenue for the business of a large distance of its long line to and from Chicago, and also furnish business for the Michigan Central Railroad Company whose stockholders were interested in the Illinois Central as well as the owners at that time of the Aurora Branch.
>
> The object of Mr. Colton was to have the charter of the Central Military Tract amended in several particulars to put it in better shape, and when I first saw it his plan was to connect it with the Rock Island Railroad at some point specified, I think, in Henry County, and the amendment was so prepared that the connection could only be formed with that road. He explained to me his object, which was connection with Chicago, and that the Rock Island was the nearest road at that time with which the connection could be made by many miles. I told him our plans and stated that the road to Mendota would be immediately built and advised him and

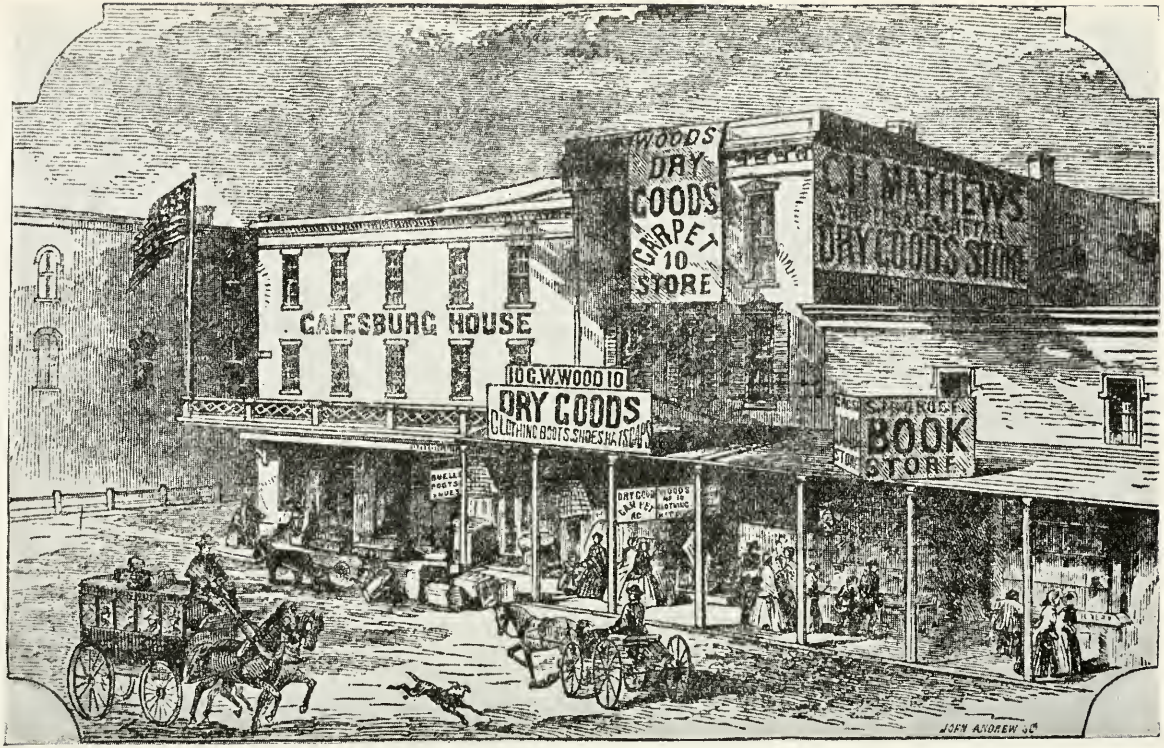
his friends to have the Military Tract charter so amended as to enable it to connect with any railroad extending to the city of Chicago.

On looking over the map of the proposed road from Aurora to Mendota he made up his mind that that line would furnish for the Military Tract Road the best route to Chicago, and changed the form of the amendment so as to leave the northern end of the proposed road open to form any other connection. I said to him that I believed the men interested in the Michigan Central Company would take an interest in the Military Tract Company and help build the road.

I agreed also if he secured his amendment in the shape advised that I would go directly to Boston and New York and make the effort to induce them to do it. He agreed on his part that the charter should not be disposed of in any form to the Rock Island Company until I should have returned from Boston and come to Galesburg. The amendments of both charters were passed in the form agreed upon, and I went immediately to Boston and New York and the desired aid was secured upon condition that Galesburg and the country along the line should contribute a certain amount. That amount I do not now remember with certainty, but think it was $200,000, but possibly it might have been $300,000, though I think not. The $200,000 was a very large amount to be raised there at that time.

Truly, Mr. Joy, it was, but you don't know those Galesburgers!

It is quite likely that both accounts are essentially correct, and with a little editing they could easily be made to harmonize. It is a matter of record that Colton's conference with Grimes and Wadsworth in Boston was prior to his meeting with Joy at Springfield, and so it is reasonable to infer that Colton already had the idea, which was further elaborated by the discussion with Joy. At any rate, whether Joy put the idea into Colton's head, or whether, as some think, Colton thought it up by himself, the significant thing now is that the embryo railroad was switched from what is now the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific to what is now the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. This was the third critical turning point in the checkered history of the line; the first being Oquawka's failure to come in, which shifted the western terminus; the second the hostility of Knoxville which spurred the Galesburgers to build their own line.



View of Galesburg in the Fifties

A corner in the business center of the town. Note the wooden awnings which covered the sidewalks in front of all stores. These were characteristic of Illinois towns and may still be seen in some

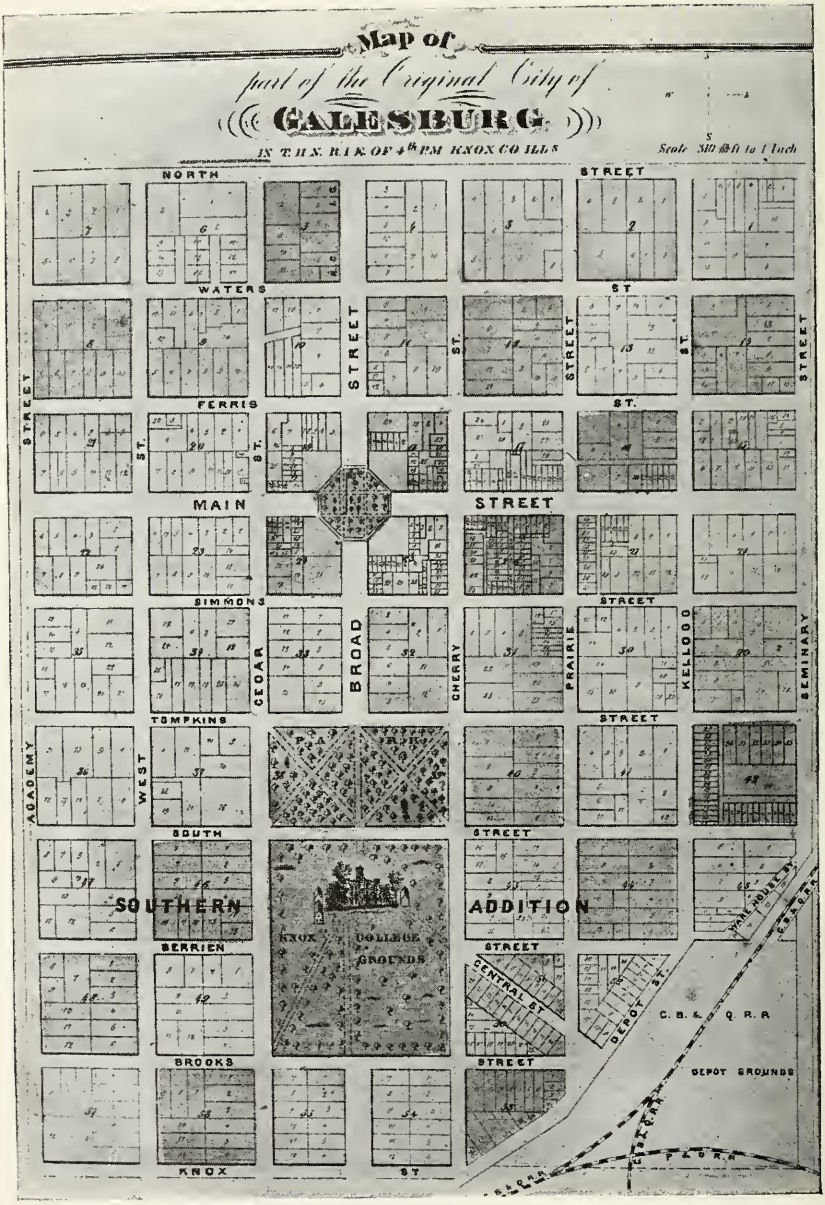
Joy was as good as his word. He interested Forbes, and when he paid his promised visit to Galesburg, he brought with him John M. Brooks, a civil engineer whose railroad experience had been acquired on the road that later became the New York Central. Both were delighted with the prospect. They went to Quincy, and exchanged promise for promise, and left for the East, with Galesburg putting its shoulders into the stupendous job of raising $300,000—for it was $300,000 and not $200,000 as Joy, writing thirty years after, rather remorsefully hoped. Joy evidently felt a little guilty over demanding so large a sum, but assured the Galesburg directors that it was necessary to convince the Boston capitalists that the little prairie village was in earnest, though only fifteen years had elapsed since the colony had with difficulty raised $21,000 with which to buy the half-township where their town stood.

The appeal of the Galesburg committee to its fellow citizens is graphic evidence of the intimate and personal character of this early enterprise of railroad building:

> Now is the time when energetic, harmonious and united action is necessary if we would secure to ourselves advantages so great. True, we are a young community, and cannot command large sums of money; but though individually we are able to do but little, yet collectively we can accomplish much. Every member of the community can do something, and such as cannot furnish money can supply ties, stone and timber for the work, or perform labor upon it.

Colton and Willard Save the Day

At the eleventh hour but $250,000 of the local subscription had been raised. Fifty thousand was still needed. Every available cent had been squeezed out of the little town; the settlers along the right of way canvassed, but this territory was thinly settled. Much of the prairie was still Congress land. The prospect looked decidedly dark. Joy arrived in Galesburg again with the disheartening message that his Boston capitalists refused either to reduce the amount or extend the time. A meeting was called, and various devices discussed for raising the additional $50,000. Frantic appeals were made to Colton to save the line. At length Colton, who had come forward at so many crises in the town's



PLAT OF GALESBURG IN 1857

Showing original town, five by six blocks square, the grounds of Knox College, the first addition laid out on the college farm, and the line of the railroad in the southwest corner.

East

history, turned to his friend Silas Willard, and startled the meeting:

'I will subscribe half if you will.'

Willard promptly accepted, much to Colton's consternation. He tried to dissuade him, feeling that Willard could not afford so great a sacrifice. Neither could Colton for that matter. Both men had already subscribed to the limits of their resources. But Willard was game. The two men borrowed the money, at ten per cent interest, and the contract was made binding on the Boston capitalists. James Joy could not restrain his admiration for such colossal financial courage. On their way back to Chicago Joy and Brooks met the treasurer of the Rock Island Route on his way to Galesburg to close a contract with the Central Military Tract Railroad, and open a subscription for stock. By so little did a large and potentially profitable section of Burlington Route territory miss becoming tributary to the Rock Island. It cost the little prairie town of a thousand inhabitants the stupendous sum of $300,000 to secure its first railroad, but thirty years later the city of 20,000 inhabitants got the Santa Fé by raising a mere $60,000.

Joy pointed out before he left Galesburg that it was difficult to interest eastern capital as long as the rates of the new road were subject to legislative control. Selden Gale wrote a new charter, modeled on that of the Illinois Central, and Colton took it to Springfield and got it passed. Galesburg was in a very different position now, with the strong backing of eastern railroads so necessary to the State; its population had already increased 500 per cent at the mere prospect of a railroad. A boom was under way. The college was in line to be the greatest beneficiary. Two new buildings were erected with the profits, and are still standing. South of the college campus was the college farm, upon which the unsuccessful experiment of manual labor had been tried. Four acres of this land was deeded to the new railroad for depot, with yards, round house and shops, together with the right of way through the city, provided that none of the land so deeded should ever be used for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating drinks.

There was a strong feeling among the Galesburg directors that the terms should go farther and forbid Sunday operation, and no doubt Jonathan Blanchard bore down on this point. On their

long slow treks to the colony in their covered wagons they had at considerable inconvenience and financial loss refrained from traveling on the Sabbath, but a railroad was too big an enterprise to be subject to their strict views; they had given a hostage to progress, and from that day the old Puritan traditions began to give way to modern liberal ideas.

The capital of the Central Military Tract Railroad was increased from one hundred thousand to six hundred thousand dollars, Brooks was made president and J. M. Berrien chief engineer—both recalled today in Galesburg by Brooks and Berrien Streets. David Sanborn of Galesburg was elected treasurer and secretary; Colton, Willard, George W. and Selden Gale were included among the directors, as well as John Howard Bryant, a prosperous farmer at Princeton, whose brother was William Cullen Bryant.

Now the various pieces of the jigsaw puzzle began to slip easily into their places. In the fall of 1854 cars were running as far as Princeton, and by December the first train, a construction train, was pulled into Galesburg by a wood-burning locomotive named 'Reindeer.' The Northern Cross became the Quincy and Chicago, was sold under foreclosure, bought by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. The Peoria and Oquawka changed its name three times, went bankrupt, was taken over by the Central Military Tract, completed, and at length and with many changes of name and management the four fragments were consolidated as the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, familiarly known as the Burlington Route, but to us who grew up beside it as the 'Q'.

THE CAT'S TAILS

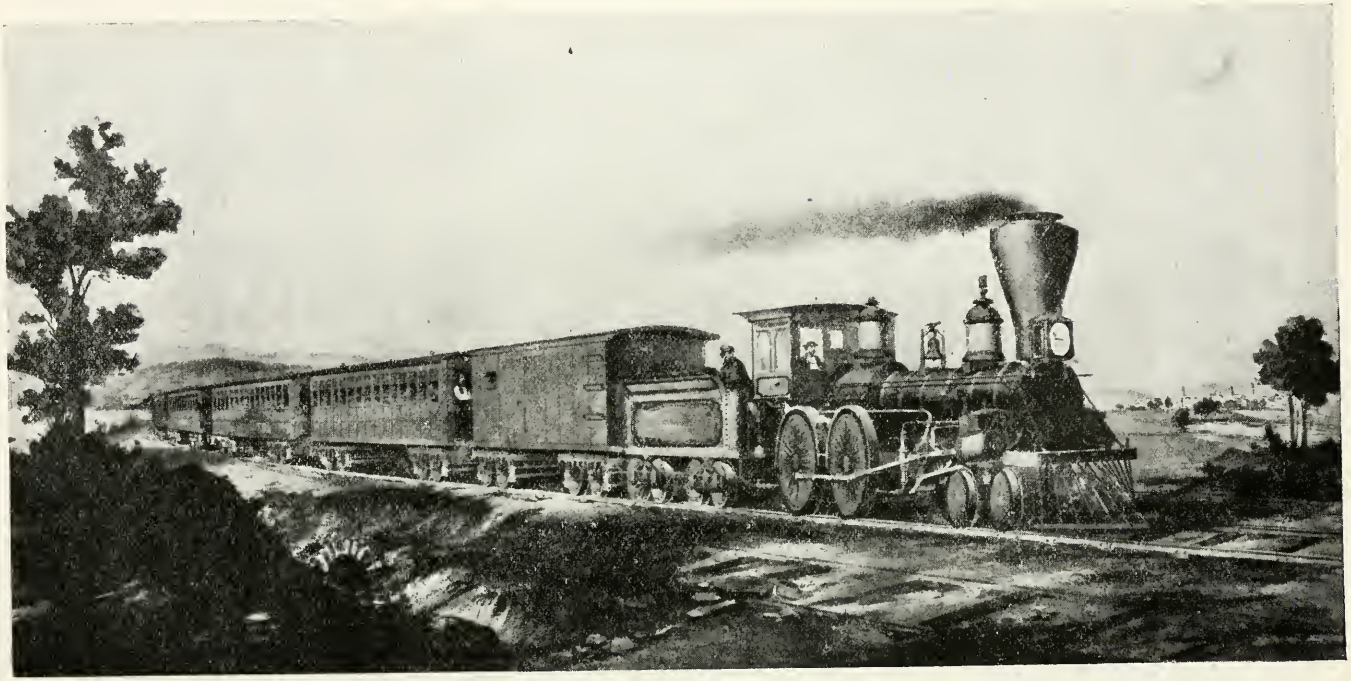
During the next ten years something like a dozen additional scraps of independent railroads in the State were gathered up and absorbed and attached to the parent stem, until the system began to assume the familiar form seen on its railroad maps. Among such scraps was one known as the Keithsburg branch, which crept up the east bank of the Mississippi from Gladstone to New Boston (New Boston was surveyed by Abraham Lincoln) and thus at long last Oquawka got its railroad, but a way station on a branch line instead of a stately terminal at a bridge head. Each short line thus assimilated had in its time been chartered and re-chartered by the legislature, with numerous amendments, and named and re-

named, as it groped its way to its final destiny. The Burlington Route has collected and absorbed 203 such fragments in its progress (including the lines west of the Mississippi) each of which in its time has had some such individual and human history as has been narrated.

It is related in the *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes* that so many promoters came to him with a hundred miles or so of railroad to sell, that he was reminded of the cats at his country place at Naushon on Buzzard's Bay. They were so numerous and destroyed so many birds he offered a bounty for each cat's tail turned in, and this bounty being increased to a more liberal amount he found that the natives were raising cats to sell him the tails. He was convinced that speculators and contractors were building roads solely for the purpose of selling them to the Burlington Route, and that the more he bought the more 'cat's tails' would be brought to him. This remark gaining currency, the C. B & Q. branches came to be known as 'cat's tails.'

It should be noted that this road, at least in Illinois, received no land grants, no federal aid, no subsidies from the State. The 2,500,000 acres given the Illinois Central, the only land grant railroad in the State, proved a boomerang. The road has paid the State $30,000,000 in taxes, and on account of provisions that land grant roads must carry mails, troops and government material at reduced rates, some $8,000,000 to the Federal government. The Burlington began as a neighborhood affair, and was helped out by eastern capital only when it had achieved definite results, and that is why it is typical of the genesis of many early railroads.

Such were the humble beginnings of one of the country's great transportation lines, which now fans out south and west over the fertile prairies of many states to the western mountains. Illinois now has 12,500 miles of railroad; only Texas has more. The fantastic dream of the Internal Improvement Act has become more than an accomplished fact. The mileage of the Burlington Route is 9,383 (2,812 of it in this State) and only four roads, and only two of them western roads operating in similar territory, top that. It carries more live stock than any carrier in the world; more grain than any other railroad in the country, and is the second largest coal carrier in the West. These are a few of the



Railroad Train of the Fifties

Pioneer railroad train with wood-burning locomotive, similar to the first trains on the Burlington route. From a Currier & Ives print, courtesy of The Old Print Shop, New York City.

things the West has done for the Burlington; what the Burlington has done for the West would require another long article.

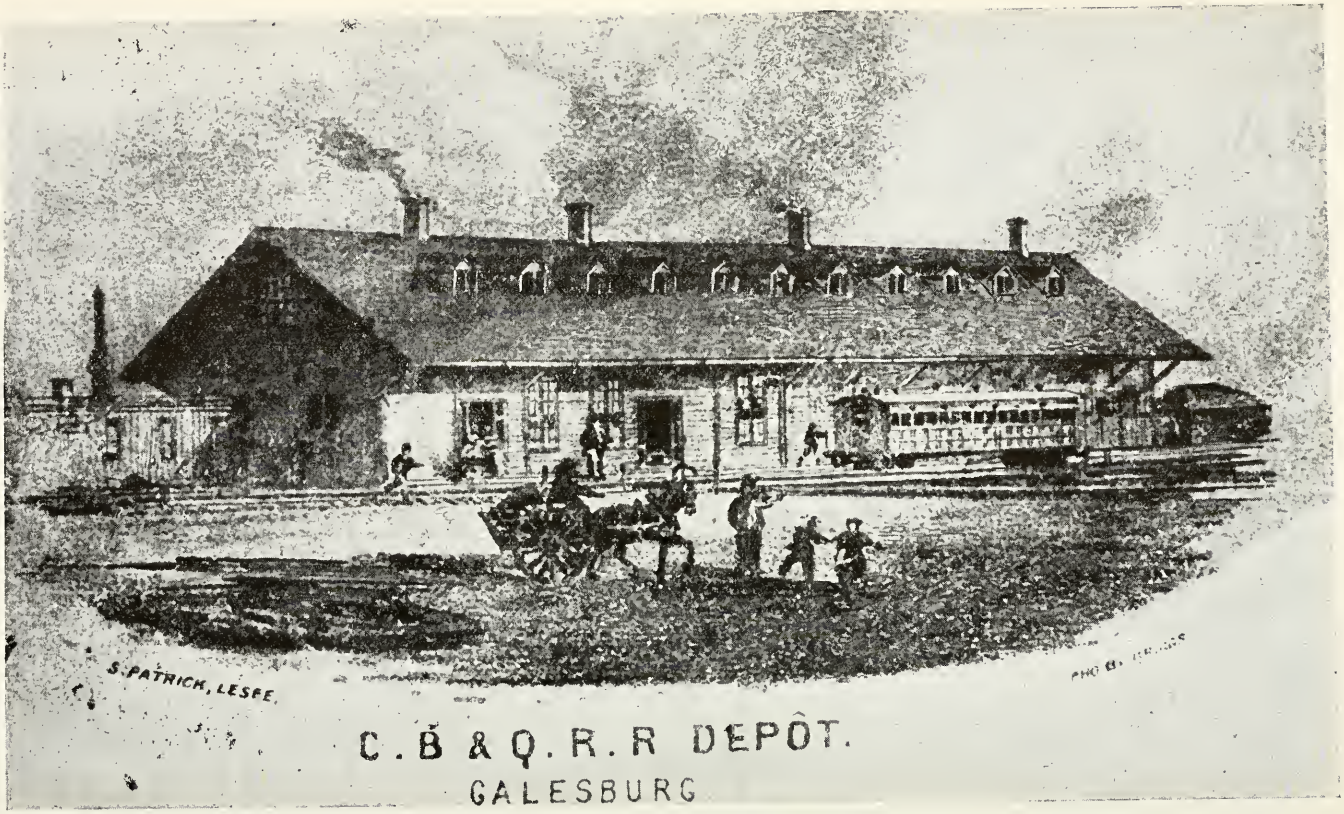
Life in a Railroad Town

Few today can understand the fascination which the railroad exerted over the minds of the inhabitants in those days. The motor car and airplane have dimmed our capacity for wonder. And no one living in a crowded eastern city can know what the coming and going of the trains meant to an isolated prairie village sixty years ago. It spelled romance, a link with the unknown outside world. To us boys in particular, those trains had the mystery and charm that the old-time sailing ships had for boys living in seaports. I was one of them; I lived beside the tracks for much of my boyhood life. All of us had periods of aspiring to the career of conductor or engineer. We knew every train and engine. The limited trains, the lightning expresses, were our especial pride. The fast mail which dashed through the town every night (and still does) was so regular we set the clock by it.

Galesburg had become a railroad town. It had joined the march of progress which was sweeping over the prairies. The railroad brought new people and new ideas, and Galesburg lost much of the odor of sanctity and holiness which had given it its reputation among its neighbors, and became more human. The town grew up around the railroad, and its economic life was conditioned by it. With the establishment of car shops, fully one-fourth the community drew its support from it. The monthly arrival of the pay car was a gala event. The banks and stores remained open until ten o'clock at night. The economic life of the town ebbed and flowed with the distribution of this comparatively vast sum of money. And from time to time some poor chap would be brought home on a grain door, crushed between bumpers, or otherwise injured, for railroading was an extra hazardous occupation.

There was no telegraph; trains ran 'wild cat'; no double tracks; each train waited fifteen minutes at a station; if no train appeared it started for the next. If another train was met between stations, one of them backed to the nearest siding.

There were no air brakes; the trainmen ran from car to car setting the brakes, and again to reverse the process when the train



Galesburg's First Railroad Station

First railroad station erected at Galesburg, of painted wood, with overhanging eaves, a standard prairie type. From the border of an old lithographed map.

started again. As each line built its own freight cars, they were of different lengths and heights, which made it a precarious job to run along the tops on a dark night. The trainmen became a separate estate with their own mores and social standards. Eugene Field celebrated the life of a freight brakeman in a poem in his "Sharps and Flats" column in the Chicago *Record*, "with spring-bottomed pants and braid on his coat, hoping to get to Peru in time for the show."

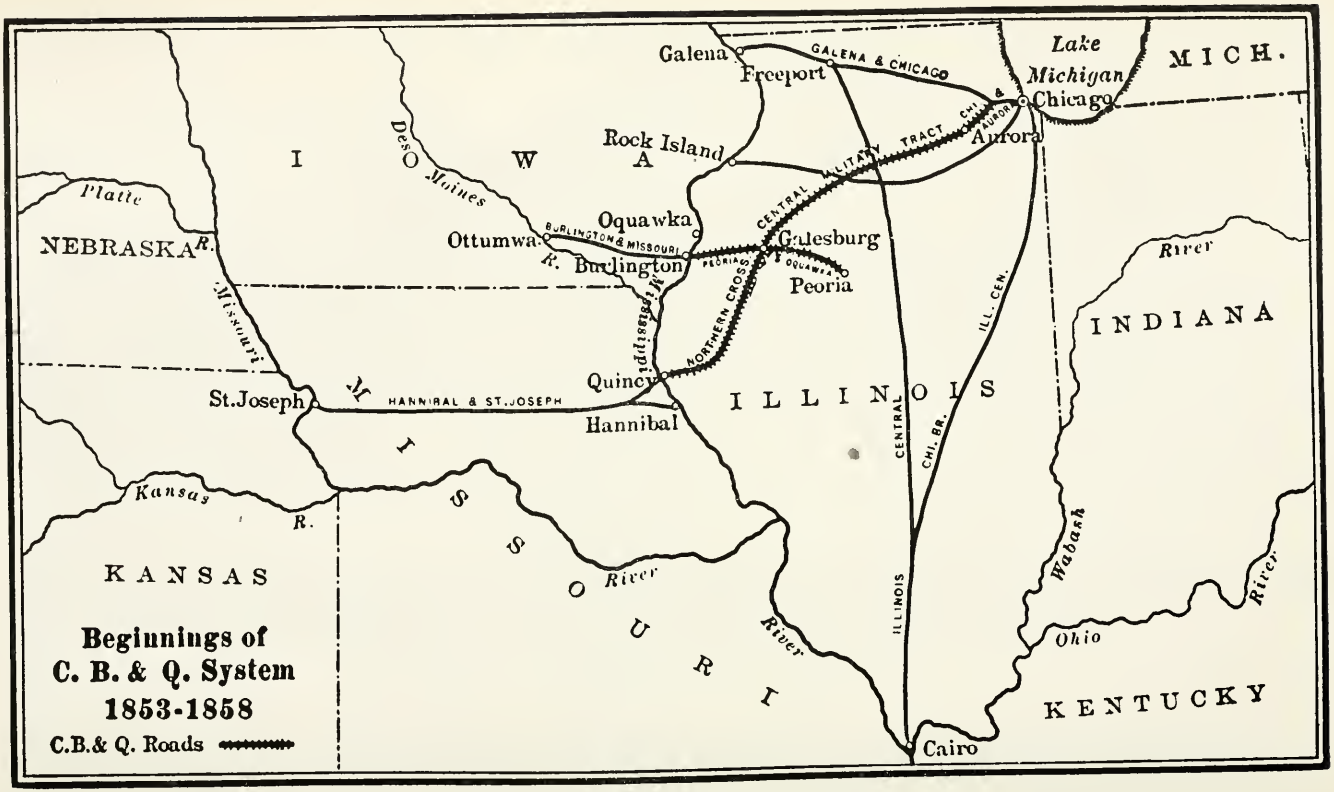
There was no telephone. The sons of railroad men got jobs as 'callers.' All night they ran from house to house, rapping on the window. When the summons was answered they cried the time the train would be ready: "Two forty-three, Bill." The old familiar whale-oil lantern, one side red, the other white, with a bail through which he could slip his arm, was the conductor's badge. On anniversaries his friends presented him with a silver-plated one.

Passes were distributed with a liberal hand. Every employee and all his family traveled free, not only on his own line, but on all the railroads in the country. The first division superintendent was Henry Hitchcock, a tall stern New Englander, who had been yardmaster in the Michigan Central yards at Chicago. He wrote an execrable hand, an exception for railroad men, for as a boy I admired the beautiful running script with the words connected, with which all telegraphers, train dispatchers and master mechanics used to write train orders on the yellow tissue which could be wadded into a ball and handed through the window of an engine cab. A letter written by Superintendent Hitchcock about a cow killed by an engine was used by the farmer for years as a railroad pass without question.

The End of an Era

For years it seemed to be a social function for a good proportion of the populace to gather at the 'deepow' to watch the trains arrive and depart. Galesburg was from the first a junction point. Its inhabitants never suffered the humiliation of seeing even the fastest trains 'go through.'

And so it happened one Sunday morning that there was enacted at the reddish-brown wooden railway station of Galesburg a little drama which marked the end of an era. When on the first



THE C. B. & Q. SYSTEM, 1853-1858

Reproduced from *An American Railroad Builder, John Murray Forbes,* by Henry Greenleaf Pearson, by permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.

Sunday the train arrived and departed according to its week-day schedule, that portion of the town which had in its keeping the sanctity of the Puritan Sabbath was too surprised and shocked to do anything. But the following Sunday there was a goodly crowd assembled at the station. Among them was a tall, commanding figure, faultlessly attired in a long frock coat, distinctly clerical, and otherwise clothed with unmistakable authority, his jet black hair slicked back, his heart filled with high purpose. His supporters stood around in their 1850 costumes, like one of those colored plates from *Godey's Lady's Book*.

There was the engine with steam up, smoke pouring from its enormous top-heavy stack, its tender full of cord wood instead of coal, its sweeping cowcatcher, so necessary in a country where livestock ran loose even in the village streets; drawing a string of short, square, flat-topped box-like cars—all as if just stepped out of a Currier & Ives print. Before the conductor could shout his "All aboard," and the engineer grab the bell rope, the tall, commanding figure stepped from the crowd around the engine, raised his hand, and bade the engineer to take the engine to the round house.

"Who are you to give me such orders?" asked the astonished engineer.

"I am President Blanchard of Knox College, and again I order you to take that engine to the roundhouse and not run this train on Sunday."

"Well, President Blanchard of Knox College, you can go to hell and mind your own business, and I'll take my train out as ordered."

The engineer was as good as his word. The town had asked for transportation and it had got it. The railroad was no longer a neighborhood enterprise, controlled by the little group of pious men who had founded Galesburg to be a Christian town after their own ideal. Blanchard had worked for the railroad, and contributed to it from his meager salary, as had practically everyone in the village, but stern moralist that he was, he would no doubt have foregone all its material benefits rather than yield one jot or tittle of the strict observance of the Sabbath which he and the founders of the town had thus far been able to maintain. But President Blanchard was as powerless to stem the tide of liberal ideas which

came rolling in with the advent of the railroad as old King Canute had been to halt the inrolling breakers of the North Sea. Galesburg was never the same again.

Such is the humble and human history of the Burlington Route.

It has grown from seed planted by a few simple and pious farmers and small town business and professional men seeking to give their village connection with the world. Today the Burlington Route is again tasting the joys of pioneering with its stream-lined train which, while on exhibition in New York, duplicated the admiring wonder which its first quaint engine and cars excited at the Galesburg depot, for the crowds lined up ten deep and two blocks long day after day to view this latest wonder of railroading. But the new railroad will not recapture the romance of the old, any more than the ocean liner can take the place of the tall, wind-driven ships. It is safer, faster, smoother, more wonderful in its machines, but less in the men it breeds.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND HISTORIANS

By Temple Bodley*

Our first "Great West," the West of the Revolution, extended roughly speaking from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi and from Florida to the Great Lakes. Had we not won it from the British, American Independence would not have been worth fighting for. Indeed, for the thirteen Atlantic States confined east of the Alleghenies, independence must have proven a curse rather than a blessing. West and north of them a great British dominion would soon have grown powerful enough to overawe them and perhaps in time recover them for the British Crown. It was that vast and rich western region which gave them room to grow and become strong. Without possession of it as a common tie to unite them after years of exhausting war, the Atlantic States, impoverished, jealous and jarring, must have fallen apart and become the prey of selfish European diplomacy, some dependent on Great Britain, others on France.

It was our westward extension to the Mississippi which made possible the Louisiana Purchase and all our later expansion to Mexico and the Pacific. Upon that first stride to territorial greatness hung the possession by the United States of seven-eighths of our present territory and nearly three-fourths of our population.

Yet, for generations after the Revolution, the winning of our first great West, and the men who won it for us, were nearly always ignored in generally read histories. They rarely mentioned George Rogers Clark. Usually written by eastern and particularly northeastern men they treated the Revolutionary War as if it was fought and won only along the Atlantic. Even today interest in the western phase of the war and the men who took part in it, is largely confined to people of this and other states within our first great West east of the Mississippi.

Although Clark was so long almost wholly ignored in history and so little known to his countrymen, a year or two before the 150th anniversary of his capture of Kaskaskia there was a remark-

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* Temple Bodley, of Louisville, Kentucky, is widely known as an authority on the life of George Rogers Clark. His biography, *George Rogers Clark, His Life and Public Services,* was published in 1926.

able awakening of public interest in his career; a great number of newspaper and magazine articles were written to tell of him and in quick succession three biographies of him appeared—my own in 1926, Professor James' in 1928 and Frederick Palmer's the next year. In 1928, on recommendation of President Coolidge, Congress voted $1,500,000 to erect the victory monument at Vincennes.

Impressed by all this one writer said: "At last George Rogers Clark is coming into his own." The prophecy however may be doubted. True, there is now a more general appreciation of the national significance of his military achievements, but during the years of dreadful poverty and dissention after his Vincennes victory, his unavoidable military requisitions and other causes, made him many enemies—some of whom assailed him by spreading false rumors which have been often repeated in printed histories and are by many believed to this day. To forestall, if possible, their further repetition this paper is written. It is especially intended for those who will hereafter write of him, and for that reason will give more details than may be of interest to other readers.

There were two particular years when false charges against General Clark were most numerous. One was 1782, after the Blue Licks defeat, and the other four years later in 1786, after the collapse of his expedition against the confederated Indians on the Wabash. Those who were plainly responsible for each of those reverses tried to shift blame for it upon him; and so it happened that in each instance other and far more dangerous enemies interested themselves in circulating the charges at the Virginia capital in order to get rid of him as military leader in the West.

We usually think of Clark's enemies as being the western British and Indians. All know how greatly they outnumbered the little band he led against them, and how desperate was the western war; but few, even among historians, realize that he had to contend with other enemies whom he rightly declared even more formidable than the British and Indians. These were the promoters, emissaries and co-conspirators of the powerful Indiana and Vandalia land companies. Under bogus grants from New York Indians, those interlocked companies claimed all the lands of what is now West Virginia and the best part of eastern Kentucky. Their land-grabbing scheme was the most gigantic fraud in all American history and incomparably the most dangerous to this nation. For

six of the eight years of the Revolution their sinister influence in the Continental Congress prevented any confederation of the states and left them to carry on a long doubtful war as a mere loose league without any real union and without any authority whatever over any state, or over any citizen or property in it. They came perilously near causing the loss of the War for Independence.

Denying Virginia's jurisdiction over any lands west of the Alleghenies, their emissaries and confederates were ever busily conspiring to overthrow her government there and to set up a new state which would set aside all her land grants and recognize their pretended title. After Clark's capture of Vincennes they greatly stimulated immigration to West Virginia and eastern Kentucky of landless people from other states, especially Pennsylvania, who would join them in overthrowing Virginia's western government, and look to the new state for the rich lands they coveted. As Virginia's loyal military chief there, Clark stood in their way. In 1780 the conspirators tried to seduce him to lead them as "governor-general" of the new state. Failing in that, they became his bitter enemies and sought to obstruct his every military plan and to secure his removal from command under Virginia. With that aim they circulated a flood of false rumors to discredit him with her government at Richmond. Those rumors reached their high tide after the disastrous Blue Licks defeat in 1782. In writings which may still be read—some anonymous, and none mentioning more than hearsay rumors—he was charged with ambition, tyranny, cowardice, excessive drinking, neglect of his duties, incapacity, misapplication of public funds, even downright peculation, even collusion with horse-thieves! All this of the man who had risked life and endured hardships through years of desperate warfare, who had advanced his means, exhausted his personal credit and mortgaged his lands to feed, clothe and equip his state troops, who had never during all those years received, or even asked the state for a dollar of his officer's pay, and who, reckless of his own interest, had even bound himself as the state's endorser to pay a great number of her bills for needed military supplies and was ruined financially by doing so!

The scheme of the land companies began some years before the Revolution. They first aimed to get their land claims confirmed by the British king. The methods they used in London to effect

their purpose was wholesale bribery of his high officials. Enlisting the aid of the most influential corruptionists of that era of political corruption in England, they bribed with shares in their enterprise many eminent men of the British government—department secretaries, noblemen, even the King's Lord Chamberlain, even a future Prime Minister, even the Lord High Chancellor of England! Fortunately for this nation, however, when their scheme was almost accomplished, the American Revolution broke out and made further application to the King useless. The promoters then transferred their activities to America where they used methods no less crooked than they had used in London. For seven years they endeavored to get the Continental Congress to claim the whole trans-Allegheny West, and confirm their fraudulent claims to West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

When in 1782 their emissaries and new state confederates were most actively villifying General Clark, so powerful became their influence with the sadly degenerated Congress that it appointed a plainly "packed" committee, to report upon all claims to trans-Allegheny lands and recommend the course Congress should pursue about them. Had the committee's report been written for the land companies it could not have been more in their interest. It denied Virginia's right to West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, or to any other territory west of the Alleghenies. It declared that Congress held legal title to the whole for all the states, but subject to the claims of the land company promoters under their bogus Indian grants!

When the western people learned of this report and were told that, without their own or their state's consent, they and their lands were about to be torn from Virginia; that the land grants to them were to be treated as void; that they were themselves to become mere territorial subjects of Congress, and that their lands and very homes were to be turned over to the land company promoters, of course they were enraged—and all the more when informed that some of the members of Congress had been bribed with shares of those lands, to vote for adoption of the committee report.

Many and vigorous protests went from the western people to the Virginia government. One of them was signed by General Clark, Major Crittenden, Captains Helm, Brashear, Bayly,

Williams, Chapline and George, by Daniel and Squire Boone, Bland Ballard and some seventy other leading men. They demanded to know if Virginia would submit to such lawless appropriation of her western territory and citizens. They had themselves no idea of submitting. They and the men who would follow them made the largest and most militant part of the western people, and, against such usurpation, they were ready to fight. It was in order to lead them if necessary that General Clark sent his resignation of military command under Virginia.

Had the committee's report been adopted, Congress and the land companies would doubtless have found the imposition of a territorial government on them and taking their lands from them an expensive and futile undertaking. But the report was not adopted. A motion by Lee and Bland, of Virginia, killed it. They moved Congress that before any member should vote on its adoption he should stand and on his honor declare whether or not he was personally interested, directly or indirectly, in the claims of the land companies! Some of the members could not be brought to face the searching inquisition of that honor test. The report was dead and so was the whole corrupt scheme of the land companies in the Continental Congress.

Several historians, notably Winsor, have discussed the western land claims of these companies and the states, but I think only superficially and in a very misleading way. Indeed, until the complete *Journals of the Continental Congress* were prepared by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick and published in twenty-four volumes, it was practically almost impossible to trace their history.

To me those volumes with their valuable notes and references have proven a mine of information. During the score of years and more that I have devoted to investigation and study of innumerable and widely scattered source materials in preparation for writing a still unfinished history of the Revolutionary West in Diplomacy, War and Politics. I gradually became more and more convinced of the supreme importance, both in Clark's career and the nation's history, of the long conflict over the trans-Allegheny West between the southern states, led by Virginia on one side, and those land companies and some of the northern states on the other. The whole subject, however, was utterly confused and distorted until a painstaking study of Mr. Fitzpatrick's complete Journals made it

plain. It is discussed at length with many record quotations and references in my *History of Kentucky.*

For half a century after the Revolution western history was written and Clark described almost exclusively by Kentucky writers. Unfortunately for him he was first portrayed in print by one of them who was a malignant and unscrupulous contemporary enemy. This was Humphrey Marshall, whose *History of Kentucky,* published in 1812, was the first book treating at all fully of western events and men, and for generations the only one generally read. Under the guise of impartial history it was in fact a rancorous and utterly unreliable polemic, written to defame all toward whom its morbid author was hostile, and they included most of the eminent and highly respected men in the state. Among them were Governor Shelby, Governor Greenup, Col. Samuel McDowell, Henry Clay, Senator Brown, Judge Innes, Col. George Nicholas, Judge Wallace, and a long list of other Kentucky leaders, most of whom were attacked even more venomously than Clark. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were villified no less savagely. Dr. Franklin, for example, Marshall described thus: "That singular composition of formal gaiety; of sprightly gravity; of grave wit; of borrowed learning; of vicious morality; of political treachery; of political folly; of casuistical sagacity, and republican voluptuousness, Doctor Franklin!"

Later historians, lacking more trustworthy information than they found in Marshall's book, very generally accepted and repeated his misrepresentations, without investigating to learn whether they were true or false. Indeed, for many years they had almost no other available means of information. The source materials of western history consisted of numberless widely scattered contemporary papers, very few of which were then published; and anything like a thorough investigation of them would have involved laborious search in many places and an expense of time and money which was prohibitive.

In my introduction to the Filson's Club's reprint of *Littell's Political Transactions,* Marshall's shrewdly deceptive method of writing history is set forth at some length. His treatment of Clark well illustrates his covert way of defaming one toward whom he was hostile. When his book was written Clark was old, paralyzed and broken in fortune. He had never taken part in controversial

politics in which Marshall, a chronic candidate for office, was almost always involved; but unlike Marshall, who was a violent Federalist, Clark was a Republican and a friend of Jefferson and most of the Kentucky leaders whom Marshall hated. Furthermore, he had sued Marshall on his contract to pay for a large tract of land, and to conduct the suit had employed Judge Innes, who was the special object of Marshall's enmity.

Marshall made no open attack on General Clark. On the contrary, he led his unsuspecting readers to believe he had a real liking for him and great sympathy for him in his misfortunes. He did this even when, with professed pity and reluctance, he assailed him with an old drink slander which had been been circulated many years before by Clark's enemies, and was afterward cunningly used by that arch-traitor and master of intrigue, General James Wilkinson, in his plot to overthrow him and succeed him as leader in the West. In his attack upon the old soldier Marshall approached his subject by stealth. His aim to disparage Clark is shown not only by what he said of him but by what he failed to say. He made no mention of Clark's well known leadership in Kentucky in 1776, when he called the first general meeting of the settlers and defeated the Transylvania Company's attempt to set up a proprietary government there; or any mention of Clark's all-important service in causing Virginia to assert her charter title to Kentucky and recognize and protect the pioneers there as her citizens; or of his obtaining from her Executive Council the 500 pounds of sorely needed powder which saved them; or of his securing for Kentucky a county government; or of his being major and in chief command there during 1777; or of his active and efficient services in defending the people there during that year of desperate Indian warfare.

All these services were well known to the Kentucky people, and to none better than Humphrey Marshall. They made the very fundamentals of the state's historic beginnings, which he professed to set forth truly and impartially; but they were all highly creditable to Clark and Marshall does not mention one of them! Instead, after only one brief reference to him, as if merely a wandering visitor to Kentucky in 1776, with "no particular residence . . . much in the woods" (in fact he had been a resident there from the spring of 1775, and the next year indisputably the

leading one) Marshall does not once again mention him until he comes, two years later, to describe his secret expedition to reduce the British posts north of the Ohio.

One would hardly expect that even an enemy of Clark would wish to rob him of credit for originating that daring enterprise, or would question his patriotic motive in doing so. Marshall did both. He gave his readers to understand that the feasibility of such an enterprise was quite familiar to the officials of the Virginia government before Clark proposed it, and that his motive in proposing it was a petty, selfish one. He said: "In the year 1777 the idea became familiar to those who held the government that the greater number of those inimical posts might be taken by a few state regiments." There is no scintilla of known evidence for this assertion, or for believing that the idea had ever occurred to any one until it was suggested by Clark to Governor Henry and his advisers. Continuing, Marshall said (my italics)[1]:

> The possibility of making conquests so important to the future security of the western boundary of the state, derived considerable probability and vivacity from the ardent and confident representation of Mr. Clark, whose name has been previously mentioned as being in Kentucky the preceding year. While there it appeared that he, affected by the scene of hostility in which he found himself, and hence induced to reflect on its causes and the means of removing the effects, had instituted inquiries into the situation and condition of the Indians and the posts most contiguous to Kentucky about which he had received extensive information and which he, *prompted by an ardent passion for military fame, propagated with the zeal of one who has a presentiment of being employed. It was certainly his desire,* and no less certain that his information and representation *contributed* much to excite and confirm the *public sentiment* in favor of an enterprise which was *probably suggested by him,* but thought hazardous and eventful by those who could alone authorize its execution.

The contemporary records abundantly show these assertions and insinuations were utterly false. Marshall's animus in making them is plain.

When he came to describe Clark's expedition against the Indians on the Wabash in 1786, and the mutiny there, Marshall,

[1] All italics present writer's unless otherwise indicated.

referring to false rumors about Clark's drinking having caused the mutiny, said:

> But those rumors had been set afloat by his enemies, who wanted an apology for their own conduct; and who in turn were accused of fomenting the insubordination and mutiny, of which they availed themselves to terminate the campaign dishonorably. [Here the historic assassin appears to defend Clark, but mark what he says next.] Candor, however, extorts a confession, that is made with regret, that General Clark at this time "was not the man he had been" . . . He was accused with too much truth for his fame, with frequent intoxication, even in his camp. For however the practice may shelter its enormities under the garb of liberality, or the embellishment of sociability, it becomes in the man intrusted with command, a vice of the most pernicious, and reprehensible character.

Thus, for the first time, this miserable drink slander was implanted by Marshall in printed history. There, like a poisonous weed, it has been nutured by his kinsmen—copyists, unwittingly reproduced by many other writers, and has thriven and spread until it is now almost impossible to eradicate it. That General Clark afterward became intemperate is true—when and how will presently be explained—but it was not, as here asserted, at the time of this mutiny, nor at any time before it.

Marshall's professedly reluctant "confession . . . that General Clark at this time [of the mutiny] was not the man he had been," not only antedates the time when he first drank to excess, but leads his readers to think that by long previous intemperance, perhaps for years, he had become a confirmed inebriate. Yet, amongst all the many extant letters and other papers written before that time and referring to General Clark, not one has been found stating the writer's knowledge of his having ever been intoxicated, or stating anything more than mere false hearsay rumors of his being given to drink, and those were the rumors circulated by his land company and new-state enemies after the Blue Licks defeat.

Referring to the time of the mutiny Marshall said:

> A high sense of injustice and neglect had been left to corrode the mind of General Clark by the government whose territory he had enlarged and whose reputation he had raised to renown. This had produced a chagrin which, in the mor-

tification and *ennui* incident to the want of employment and inaction, had sought extinguishment or oblivion in the free use of ardent spirits.

All these assertions were groundless. Instead of "want of employment," "inaction," and "ennui" prior to the mutiny, General Clark's life had been one of constant public employment and mighty exertions. Contrary to Marshall's assertion, neither at the time of the mutiny, nor at any previous time, had he either expressed or felt any such "sense of injustice," "mortification," or "chagrin" by reason of Virginia's "injustice and neglect." He had always attributed her failure to meet his military needs, and her large money obligations to him, to her own financial embarrassments and trusted in her ultimate justice to him. Many years were to pass before he finally became convinced that his confidence in her justice had been misplaced.

For over twenty years after Marshall's book was published no other portrayed Clark. Virtually all that readers of Western history could find about him in print was what his enemy had written. Then, in 1834, another history of Kentucky appeared—a small and very superficial one written by Mann Butler, a fair-minded school teacher friendly to Clark, but with scant information for writing history. Lacking more trustworthy information, Butler was unable to correct Marshall's misstatements, and even copied some of them. Thus, no doubt unwillingly, he repeats what Marshall said of Clark's drinking during the Wabash mutiny, being "no longer the same man" and feeling at that time, chagrin and mortification over Virginia's mistreatment of him.

When so friendly an historian as Butler repeated Marshall's misrepresentations, later writers naturally believed and repeated them without investigating to learn the truth.

Thirteen more years passed, with only Marshall and Butler's portrayals of Clark accessible to readers of Western history. Then another book described him. This was the *History of Kentucky* edited by Lewis Collins and published in 1847. Since then it has been more often consulted than any other by persons seeking information about early Kentucky events and men, including Clark, for it contains a mass of details not to be found elsewhere. It is, however, a hodge-podge of facts and fictions very often self-contradicting and misleading.

Collins explains in his preface that a very large part of his book was made up of narratives received directly or indirectly from old men, survivors of the times of which they told, and their narratives were very often nothing more than utterly unreliable fireside yarns. Collins was an industrious compiler, but neither was nor claimed to be anything more. The same was true of his son, Richard, who edited a second edition. Their prefaces showed that scores of other persons wrote different parts of the book, and that the only part professing to give a connected history—called "Outline of History"—was written by Marshall's cousin, partisan and copyist, John A. McClung, who has been generally and justly discredited as a romancing and unreliable writer. His "Outline" was almost wholly based on Marshall's history and repeated its misleading statements of Clark.

Another kinsman and a rabid partisan of Marshall also repeated his aspersions upon the man he aimed to defame, including Clark. This was Thomas Marshall Green, whose *Spanish Conspiracy* was a most violent polemic, fairly filled with errors, both of fact and inference. It grew out of an old feud between the Marshalls and Browns of Kentucky. Green was infuriated by what he thought traduction of his grandfather Marshall, in a book which John Mason Brown wrote to defend *his* grandfather Brown from defamation in Humphrey Marshall's history. Green was a local newspaper editor in Kentucky, much involved in controversies and wholly unqualified, by either investigation or temperament, to write reliable history. He was an honorable but notoriously pugnacious man with singularly strong prejudices which so warped his judgment as to make him utterly unable to distinguish his suspicions from proofs, or to see any other than his own interpretation of anything in controversy. He shows that his knowledge of his subject was most superficial and almost wholly gathered from Marshall's history. In fact, his book was little more than a vehement re-statement of Marshall's assertions, arguments, inferences and even insinuations.

With reference to Clark, Green's main contribution to supplement Marshall's disparagements was his repetition of the deceptive papers Wilkinson sent Governor Randolph, in his atrocious plot to overthrow and succeed Clark as military leader in the West.

Green quoted them as verities, apparently without suspecting their authorship, or having any idea of their deceitful nature.

For many years Marshall's prolix history, McClung's "Outline" and Green's diatribe have been little read, even by historians. Following them, however, another work, mainly based on them so far as it portrayed Clark, was very widely read by the last generation, and, excepting Marshall's history, has done more than any other book to misrepresent and defame Clark. This was Theodore Roosevelt's *Winning of the West.* Probably nearly all American historians have read it, and from it many evidently formed very erroneous impressions of Clark. For this reason, and because Roosevelt's high repute gave his book a credit which it certainly did not merit, its character needs to be explained to prevent future repetition of his many amazingly reckless errors.

It has been truly said that Roosevelt merely "dabbled" in Western history. The historic field he essayed to cover in his *Winning of the West* was one of great magnitude. It had never been more than superficially explored by any competent and impartial historian who had written about it and, as already stated, had been grossly distorted in print. Plainly, anything like a correct treatment of so vast a subject imperatively demanded long and laborious investigation, for most of the truth about the conditions, events and men to be described lay buried in a great number of unpublished and widely scattered source materials.

Roosevelt made no such investigation; his book plainly shows this. Indeed, his many and strenuous political and other activities when, in his twenties, and with the overweening confidence of young manhood, he undertook to elucidate his great subject, made such an investigation by him impossible. Graduating when twenty-two years of age, the next year he entered politics, was elected to the New York legislature and became its minority leader. That year he published his *History of the Naval War of 1812*—a large subject, which he treated engagingly, but superficially like every other historical one about which he wrote. The next year, 1883, he was again a candidate for the legislature, was re-elected after an active canvass, and was busily engaged in furthering reform laws; yet that year he issued another book, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman.* The next year, 1884, he carried on a vigorous and absorbing fight against intrenched New York politicians in office,

to reduce their fees and power, and was also the active chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention. In 1886 he was a candidate for Mayor of New York City and conducted a vigorous campaign for the office, but was defeated.

Meanwhile, in addition to all these political activities and his bookmaking, he was at sundry times much engaged in explorations and big-game hunting in the West. The next year, 1887, he published another book, *The Life of Thomas H. Benton,* and the following year two more volumes—*The Life of Gouverneur Morris* and *Ranch Life and Hunting Trips!*

Some idea of Roosevelt's slap-dash way of writing history is indicated by his letters while writing his life of Benton. Dr. Claude M. Fuess, who quotes them in his *The Biographer and His Victims,* says that Roosevelt on February 7, 1886, wrote his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, saying:

> "I feel a little appalled over the *Benton.* I have not the least idea whether I shall make a flat failure of it or not. However, I will do my best and trust to luck for the result." On March 27 at his Elkhorn ranch in Dakota, far from libraries or files of newspapers, he reported: "I have got the *Benton* half through." Finally on June 7 he wrote, "I have nearly finished *Benton,* mainly evolving him from my inner consciousness; but when he leaves the Senate in 1850 I have nothing to go by" . . . . He then appealed to Lodge to hire someone to look up Benton's career in his declining days. Here are some of the questions: "He was elected to Congress? Who beat him and why when he ran for governor of Missouri? And the date of his death? As soon as I get these dates I can send Morse the manuscript."
>
> Lodge, himself a laborious and scrupulous scholar, cautioned his friend not to be too hasty, but the latter mailed his copy to the general editor, John T. Morse, Jr., on August 9. Roosevelt had written the *Benton* in rather less than six months, without apparently looking up any of the sources.

One need only to read his autobiography to learn how many and engrossing were his activities other than historical, during all those years, and to realize how impossible it was for him to get more than a most superficial knowledge of the vast and difficult field of western history which he was about to treat in his *Winning of the West.* Yet, following fast upon the issue of his *Benton,* in 1887, and his two more books, *Gouverneur Morris* and

Ranch Life, in 1888, the next year, he issued the first volume of his *Winning of the West* covering the whole period to the end of the Revolutionary War! The rest of his book was prepared during a period of equally varied and strenuous activities, including the times when he was United States Civil Service Commissioner and Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Roosevelt manifestly took his impressions and most of his assertions about Clark from Marshall, McClung and Green. Although in his later years he championed some very radical democracy, when he wrote his *Winning of the West* he was a hot advocate of extreme Federalist doctrines, an admirer of Federalist leaders, and able to see only what was evil in Republican policies or men. His opinion of Jefferson and Republicans he had expressed as follows:

> Jefferson has always been my pet aversion; to me he seems an intriguing doctrinnaire, mighty in word and weak in action, revengeful but timid, of enormously overrated abilities and standing . . . about on a par with Jefferson Davis, minus the latter's boldness. He did nothing but harm as long as he stood by his colors, and so far as his school did anything to help and not retard the country's progress, it was by adopting Federalist ideas.

With Federalist prejudice so strong, Roosevelt was not likely to appreciate the views, or to judge fairly the acts of the Western Jeffersonian Republicans, of whom Clark was one and an ardent one, although he never engaged in political controversies.

In Marshall and Green, on the other hand, Roosevelt found Federalists quite as partisan as himself, and he accepted them as reliable authorities without care to test their trustworthiness, although he could hardly have been unaware of their hostility to Clark. Blindly following Green, he even accepted Wilkinson's fabrications against Clark and gave his readers to understand that the preposterous falsehoods in them were true. When he relied for information on such authorities as Marshall, Green and Wilkinson, it is hardly surprising that he conceived a strong prejudice against Clark, the man, and utterly failed to comprehend his elevated character.

Roosevelt was ever fond of the spectacular and impressed by bold and successful performances of forceful men, and his book

gave abundant evidence of his admiration of Clark as a warrior. With much relish he described his outstanding military victories, but he was evidently not interested and learned little about what Clark was doing during the intervals between these victories. Yet those long intervals were the very times of Clark's greatest difficulties and exertions. They were the times when general poverty in the West, dissention, Virginia's failure to support him, and the disloyal conspiracies of the new-state confederates of the land companies, required his utmost efforts to hold his own.

Roosevelt's failure to investigate the doings of those land companies left him (as it has left nearly all our historians) unconscious of the mighty significance of Clark's first great victory, which was not won in war but in diplomacy. This was when, in 1776, despite the powerful and much feared opposition of those companies and northern states cooperating with them in denying Virginia's jurisdiction west of the Alleghenies, Clark persuaded and virtually forced Virginia's hesitating government to assert her charter right to Kentucky, to recognize the pioneers there as her citizens entitled to her protection, and to give them a county government with essential military organization. It was this bold diplomacy of Clark which made possible his later military victories and the winning of our first great West; for had Virginia abandoned Kentucky at that critical time, it is unbelievable that two years later she would have authorized his expedition against Kaskaskia and carried on her five years' western war against the British and Indians.

Roosevelt's way of writing history is well illustrated by what he says about the time when Clark wrote his "Memoir" letter narrating his military exploits up to mid-summer after his capture of Vincennes. Clark wrote it while still in his thirties at the urgent request in 1789 of James Madison and Senator Brown, then fellow-members of Congress, Mr. Madison undertaking to revise it for publication. Roosevelt, however, because he saw a published statement that the Memoir was written "at the desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison" (Jefferson had nothing to do with it) hastily assumed that they made their request *after* they became presidents. He then asserted that the Memoir was "therefore written some thirty or forty years after the events of which it speaks," and proceeded to discredit its narrative as the

vaporing of an old man in his dotage.[2] Thirty years after those events Clark was paralyzed and unable to write; forty years after them he was dead!

Had Roosevelt made a less superficial inspection of the Clark papers in the Draper Collection (his numerous references to which suggest a familiarity with them which his book proves he never had) he could have learned from the Brown-Clark correspondence there that the "Memoir" was written during 1789-90. This was about twenty to thirty years earlier than he rashly asserted, and when Clark's mentality was of a decidedly high order. Witness, for example, his article on Indian Mounds, written for the American Museum about the time he was writing his Memoir; witness the high estimate of his mentality at that time by the eminent physician, Dr. Samuel Brown, who knew him well. Witness the lucid Memoir itself. It could never have been written by the mentally deficient old man Roosevelt described. In truth, considering the circumstances under which it was written, and the many events narrated in it, any capable lawyer or judge experienced in weighing evidence, after careful investigation of the facts bearing on the trustworthiness of the Memoir, will find it a remarkable monument of Clark's accuracy and veracity.

No one appears to have questioned the trustworthiness of the Memoir until it was thus discredited by Roosevelt as having been written by Clark when, he says, "in his old age he took delight in writing down among his exploits all sorts of childish stratagems."[3] All thoughtful readers acquainted with Clark's career know what those stratagems were, and must have been impressed both by his need for using them and their remarkable effectiveness.

Roosevelt gave full credit, however, to Clark's descriptions of the same events in his earlier letter to George Mason, which he said was written when Clark had "no thought of trying to increase the dramatic effect" of his situations.[4] Had he read the two narratives more carefully he would have seen they were remarkably consistent. This consistency is the more remarkable because of the great number of events described in both of them, because ten years of varied difficulties and exertions intervened between the times when they were written, and because, when Clark wrote the

[2] *Winning of the West,* II, 176. *Current Literature* 6-Volume Edition.
[3] II, 208.
[4] II, 188.

Memoir, he could not procure the Mason letter to remind him of events he was again to narrate in the Memoir.

Had Roosevelt compared the two narratives less hastily he would also have avoided his own inconsistency in giving full credit to stratagems when described in the Mason letter, but discrediting the very same stratagems when they appear in the Memoir. For example, he declared "childish" the Memoir account of Clark's "artifices to heighten the terror of the French" at Kaskaskia, but describes and fully credits them as narrated in the earlier Mason letter with even more "dramatic effect." He also discredits stratagems narrated in the Memoir merely because they, or some of their details, were not mentioned in Clark's more brief Mason letter, or other earlier writings. Evidently he did not know that Clark set forth his stratagems much more fully in the Memoir than he had done before, in order to comply with the urgent request of Mr. Madison and Senator Brown. The latter wrote him:

> You cannot be too minute in the details of causes and effects, of views and measures, of occurrences and transactions during those successful campaigns. Circumstances and facts which may appear unimportant to you will not be thought so by others . . . Mr. Madison will cheerfully undertake to revise and arrange the collection of facts . . . but begs you to descend in the recital even to minutia. Any redundancy which may thus be created can easily be retrenched upon a revisal."

Forgetting that in the fully accredited Mason letter Clark described how he countermarched his men behind rising ground before Vincennes to hide their small number, but displayed many flags on high poles to make the British garrison believe his force overwhelming, Roosevelt discredits, as a childish old-age invention of Clark, the almost identical account of the same stratagem when given in the Memoir. He does this merely because, in an earlier letter to Governor Henry, Clark gave a very brief account of the attack, but made no mention of the countermarching. Misreading and wholly misinterpreting Clark's Memoir account Roosevelt said:

> This effectually disposes of the account, which was accepted by Clark himself in his old age, that he ostentatiously paraded his men and marched them to and fro with many flags flying so as to impress the British with his numbers. Instead of

> indulging in any such childishness (which would merely have warned the British and put them on their guard) he in reality made as silent an approach as possible under the cover of darkness.[5]

Clark's Memoir did not say he "paraded his *men*," but that he hid them until after sundown when he marched them silently and in the dark to attack the British fort. Roosevelt simply failed to grasp Clark's aim, which was, by hiding his men but exposing many flags, to make the British garrison think him irresistible and therefore incline them to surrender. Indeed, the countermarching ruse was an old one, probably as old as the history of sieges. It had been used only a few months before by the Indians besieging Colonel Gibson at Tuscararas. This is but one of many instances of Roosevelt's hasty errors about Clark's military stratagems. For lack of time others cannot be mentioned here.

He not only misread Clark's aims, but even failed to grasp the significance of his early victories. He overlooked their tremendously important result in opening the way for the great flow of American people to the West, which completely reversed the relative American and British numbers and military strength there. When Clark was recruiting men for his Kaskaskia expedition, Great Britain's adult white subjects north of the Ohio outnumbered the Americans south of it perhaps ten to one. In Kentucky there were only 102 men and boys able to bear arms. Twenty-seven of those were soon afterward captured with Boone, and even of the few remaining men about sixty went with Clark against Kaskaskia. Clark's victories there and at Vincennes revolutionized the western military situation. They brought every tribe of Indian allies of the British south of the Great Lakes basin, except one, to sue him for peace and alliance, and that one was effectually quieted. This suppression of their hostilities promised peace for settlers in the West and a great rush of them followed. The next year, 1780, Kentucky alone was estimated to contain 20,000 inhabitants. It was this tremendous increase of western American population and fighting strength, distinctly due to Clark's victories, which made the British powerless to recover the ground they had lost. Potentially the Americans had become irresistible in the West, and but for the dissentions and opposition

[5] II, 226.

fomented there by emissaries of the land companies, General Clark would no doubt have realized his long cherished aim to win Detroit and the Great Lakes.

Roosevelt described the immigration, but indicated no conception of its supreme importance in the winning of the West. Evidently he assumed that the immigration would have taken place and the country south of the Ohio become populous without Clark's victories, for he said: "If Clark had failed in his effort to conquer and hold the Illinois and Vincennes it is overwhelmingly probable that the Ohio would have been the boundary between the Americans and the British."[6] On the contrary, it seems "overwhelmingly probable" that the few men and boys left in the three little Kentucky forts, and the few scattered settlers southeast of the upper Ohio, would have been wiped out, and that Great Britain would have retained the whole trans-Allegheny West.

Merely because the territory north of the Ohio was the field of Clark's offensive military operations, Roosevelt and most later writers have assumed that the winning of the territory north of that river was the only, or at least preëminent result of his victories. In truth, the territory south of the Ohio was not only then much the more valuable, but it was more promptly, more securely and more beneficially won by Clark's victories than the region north of the Ohio, which then had few inhabitants except Indians whom it required years of warfare to dispossess.

Let us next consider Roosevelt's characterizations of Clark the man. A portrait painter's slight touches upon his canvas may readily escape notice, yet be very significant in delineating the character portrayed. An overlooked line or shadow about the mouth or eye may give either an agreeable or a very disagreeable impression of the person represented. In like manner, many of Roosevelt's unwarranted disparagements of Clark—especially when suggested rather than expressed—may seem too unimportant to deserve notice, yet suggest ugly characteristics well calculated to prejudice the reader against him, and some of them, almost harmless in themselves, become decidedly important when links in a chain of such disparagements.

When first describing Clark, Roosevelt said he possessed "high daring and unflinching courage," but also "passions which he

[6] III, 182.

could not control." [7] What these passions were, and how vicious, his readers are left to guess, and perhaps guess the worse.

Next, repeating an old pioneer yarn, he described Clark as meeting in the woods a little boy who had shot and cooked a small wild duck, wheedling him for an invitation to partake of it, and then eating the whole of it[8]. The trickiness suggested here and in other places in Roosevelt's book is utterly foreign to all we know of Clark's nature. In dealing with enemies, he was, like Roosevelt himself, shrewd and resourceful, but with others than known enemies quite as free from guile and perhaps more trustful.

Next, Roosevelt gives him the malodorous character of a shrewd horse-trader, with a "passion for barter." This he does with no better warrant than his own careless misreading of an entry which Clark made in his diary just before starting on his journey from Harrodsburg to lay before Governor Henry his bold plan to capture Kaskaskia. Roosevelt says: "Before starting he made a rather shrewd and thoroughly characteristic speculation in horseflesh, buying a horse for £12 and then 'swapping' it with Isaac Shelby and getting £10 to boot. He evidently knew how to make a good bargain and had the backwoods passion for barter." [9]

Clark's diary entry said nothing of his "*getting* £10 to boot," and it is very evident that he did not get the "boot" but *paid* it to get a better horse. All his diary said was: [1777 Sep] "20 Bought a horse, price £12. Swaped with J. *Shelp* [not Isaac Shelby] Boot £10"

Clark's mission in making the long and hard seven-hundred-mile journey over the rugged Appalachians, was a tremendously important one both for him and his country, and time was precious. Plainly he needed a strong and speedy horse, yet Roosevelt represents him as swapping off the one for which he had just paid *twelve pounds,* and getting for it another presumably worth *ten pounds less,* or only about *two pounds*! A horse worth no more than that would have been a very poor one.

That Clark made no such trade, but *paid* the £10 "boot" to get the better horse persuasively appears from the record of

[7] I, 259.
[8] II, 125.
[9] II, 173.

speed and endurance which the new horse made. After traveling about 190 miles through hilly and mountainous southeastern Kentucky with a party of men, Clark left them and for five consecutive days forced the horse over the lofty and difficult Alleghenies, an average of nearly twenty-six miles a day—certainly a severe test of horseflesh. Then, the animal no doubt being tired out, he swapped it for a fresh horse, for which his dairy said he "he gave £7/10. Boot." In his recent life of Clark, Professor James Alton James repeats Roosevelt's misreading of the horse-trade entry in Clark's diary and adds to it by saying: "Before setting out he displayed his shrewdness as a trader by purchasing a horse for 12 pounds sterling which he 'swapped' with Isaac Shelby, receiving 10 pounds to boot." Neither Clark's entry nor Roosevelt mentioned "sterling."

Roosevelt's early portrayals of Clark as having "passions which he could not control," as flattering and cheating a small boy out of his dinner, as having a "thoroughly characteristic passion for barter," and as a shrewd horse-trader, could hardly fail to give his readers unpleasant first impressions of Clark's character. Having ascribed to him these unlovely traits, he next indicated still another, namely a passion for drink, and this even so early as this journey in 1777 to lay his military plan before Governor Henry. Roosevelt did this by a most reckless reading of another diary entry of Clark, who usually entered his expenses and miles traveled each day, but sometimes omitted expenses for a day or more and included them in a later entry. Beginning October 23 the entries read as follows:

> 23. Falling in company with Captn Campble, an agreeable Companion, we traveled 33 ms. Lodged at Cooks, poor fair. Expense 6/6.
>
> 24. Sold my gun to Mr. Love £12. Swapped horse with J. Love, gave £7/10 Boot. Lodged at Mr. Needlies. 25 Ms. [No expenses mentioned.]
>
> 25. Lodged at Botetourt, 25 Ms. 512 Miles from Harrodsburg. [No expenses mentioned.]
>
> 26. Rain. Staid at Lockharts tavern. [No expenses mentioned.]
>
> 27. Rain. Expenses £1.4.0.

Presumably that sum covered expenses for this and the three preceding days, but you will be surprised to learn that from this last entry Roosevelt inferred, and gave his readers to understand,

that Clark had probably spent the 27th with Campbell at Lockhart's tavern *carousing*—that is, "drinking deeply and boisterously." He said: "They had to wait over one stormy day [they really waited two] at a little tavern and probably whiled away the time by as much of a carouse as circumstances allowed; at any rate, Clark's share of the bill when he left was £1.4.0."[10]

This statement plainly implied that, even at this early date, Clark was a drinking man, and it could not fail to prepare readers to credit the drink slanders by his enemies which they would find Roosevelt afterward adopting and repeating with severe censure. He assumed that much of the £1.4.0 was for liquor. The diary said nothing of the kind. It did not say that sum was for only one day (it evidently covered his expenses for four days) or for what they were incurred, or how much of them were for other than tavern charges, or that a penny of them was for liquor.

Occasionally through his book, without citing any authority, Roosevelt gives his readers to understand that during intervals between his victories Clark was stupefied by drink and slothful. For example, after describing the Blue Lick's defeat in 1782, (which he apparently but wrongly assumed Clark could have prevented) he says: "At last the news of repeated disaster roused Clark to his old-time energy"[11] as if for years before Clark had been a besotted idler. Yet those were the very years of his greatest exertions.

I may seem to dwell too much on this drink charge, but its persistent repetition in print has caused a widespread belief to this day that General Clark really was then the slothful inebriate his land company and new-state enemies were representing him to be. Of all the false rumors they circulated against him few failed to reach Governor Harrison, who at first inclined to credit the one about his excessive drinking, but ordered them all investigated in Kentucky by a commission headed by Colonel Fleming. The result was General Clark's complete vindication by the commission, and the governor's declaration that the general had simply been traduced by his enemies.

Roosevelt even went so far as to assert that in the Memoir "Clark makes not a few direct misstatements." That was an ugly charge, yet he based it upon nothing better than a hasty and plain-

[10] II, 175.
[11] III, 82.

ly erroneous inference of his own from what he thought an inconsistency between Clark's two accounts of the same event, first in a brief letter to Governor Henry and later in the Memoir.

To prove this charge, and immediately following it, Roosevelt said:

> As an instance of the different ways in which he told an event at the time and thirty years later, take the following accounts of the same incident. The first is from the letter to [Governor] Henry, the second from the Memoir:
>
> (1) 'A few days ago I received certain intelligence of Wm. Moires, my express to you, being killed near the Falls of Ohio; news truly disagreeable to me, as I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy at Detroit.'
>
> (2) 'Poor Myres, the express, who set out on the 15th, got killed on his passage and his packet fell into the hands of the enemy, but I had been so much on my guard that there was not a sentence in it that could be of any disadvantage to us for the enemy to know and there were private letters from soldiers to their friends designedly wrote to deceive in cases of such accidents.'[12]

The slightest reflection would have shown Roosevelt there was no inconsistency whatever between these two accounts. Clark's statement in the letter to Governor Henry, "I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy," by no means implied, as Roosevelt implies, that there was anything in the letters "that could be of any disadvantage...for the enemy to know"; for, though there was none, Clark naturally wished what the letters *did* contain should reach the governor. Otherwise they would not have been written. Hence, when he learned Myres had been killed, he said he feared the letters would fall into the hands of the enemy, and never reach the governor. We do not know, nor did Roosevelt, what was in the letters; but if Clark was not careful to avoid having them give damaging information, he certainly did not exercise his habitual wariness in war; for it was well known that letters carried through the wilderness were very frequently captured by the enemy, whom they were therefore commonly framed to deceive in case of capture.

In another place, referring to a lawless inclination of frontiersmen in 1784 to sieze and appropriate lands of the Indians, Roosevelt said:

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[12] II, 228-9.

"Even the men of note, men like George Rogers Clark, were often engaged in schemes to encroach on the land north of the Ohio, drawing on themselves the bitter reproaches not only of the Federal authorities but of the Virginia government for their cruel readiness to jeopardize the country by incurring the wrath of the Indians."[13] Never was charge more demonstrably false or unjust, as will be explained presently.

Concerning Clark's career after the Revolution, Roosevelt did little more than revamp the accounts he found in the books of Marshall and his copyists.

Concerning the failure of Clark's expedition against the confederated Indians on the Wabash in 1786 the contemporary records plainly show that it was caused by the disgruntled Lincoln County mutineeers, and not, as several of them to shift blame from themselves, afterward alleged, to Clark's drinking. Evidently knowing nothing of the facts shown in those records, Roosevelt tells nothing of them, but merely narrates the event thus:

> After reaching Vincennes the troops became mutinous and at last refused longer to obey and marched home as a disorderly mob to the disgrace of themselves and their leader.[14]

He evidently did not know that only the Lincoln County troops mutinied; or that they were mutinous from the beginning of the march from the Falls of Ohio; or that they had refused to march, as Clark urged, directly northwest against the Indians, but insisted on going due west and far out of their way to Vincennes; or that on the way they defied orders, and their commanding colonel was arrested for insubordination; or that the only excuse they gave at the time for their mutiny was an alleged shortage of food, which they themselves caused, if there really was any. But, following Marshall's and Green's accounts of the mutiny, and repeating almost their words about Clark, Roosevelt said: "But he was no longer the man he had been," evidently meaning, as they did, that he was then incompetent from long previous intemperance.

On the contrary, deserted by about half his men and almost in the presence of an overwhelming enemy, Clark had never dis-

[13] IV, 48.
[14] IV, 99.

played finer poise in danger, or resourcefulness, or mastery of adversity than when he promptly garrisoned Vincennes with a handful of men, defied the Indians and actually brought them to end their hostilities. This he did with the aid of Major LeGras, the leading French resident, who wrote them an ingenious letter attributing the retreat of Clark's army not to the mutiny, but to entreaties to Clark from the Vincennes French friends of the Indians not to destroy their Indian friends.[15] Roosevelt, having learned nothing of this brilliant achievement from Marshall or his copyists, or by investigation of his own, attributed the overawing of the Indians not to Clark's masterly action after the collapse of the expedition, but to the collapsed expedition itself.

Blindly following Green, Roosevelt next repeats as verities Wilkinson's preposterous inventions about Clark's raising a great imaginary army to invade Louisiana after the Wabash expedition. At that time the expedition had been abandoned; Clark's army had dissolved and returned to Kentucky, and even the handful of men he had enlisted to garrison Vincennes had disbanded for lack of food there.

Again following Marshall, Roosevelt described Clark's proposed expedition to liberate the French and Americans of Louisiana from the yoke of Spain and set up a friendly republic there as merely a robbing scheme of "freebooters." This he did notwithstanding General Clark, by his widely circulated proclamation, publicly declared the purpose of the movement to be "the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi for opening the trade of the said river and giving freedom to its inhabitants," and notwithstanding the movement was engaged in, or actively encouraged, by many of the most highly esteemed leaders in the West and had the sympathy of the great majority of the people there. The western "Democratic Societies," composed of large numbers of these leaders, Roosevelt himself said "entered into Clark's plan with the utmost enthusiasm."

The only warrant he gave for his sweeping condemnation of the movement was his own misinterpretation of the word "plun-

[15] LeGras' full report of the affair with his and Clark's speeches to and replies from the Indians was sent to Clark and appears in Draper Papers 11-j 108 &c. Clark refers to the report in his letter to the governor, copied in my life of him p. 304. Pages 396-7 show how the "testimonials" Wilkinson sent Randolph garbled LeGras' report in order to hide Clark's brilliant handling of the Indians. But unfortunately LeGras' report is not there set forth in full to show how cunningly Wilkinson garbled it.

der" in Clark's proclamation calling for volunteers for his proposed "revolutionary legion." He said:

> It promised all who would join him from one to three thousand acres [according to length of service] of any unappropriated lands in the conquered regions, the officers to receive proportionally more. All lawful plunder was to be equally divided according to the custom of war. The proclamation thus frankly put the revolutionary legion on the footing of a gang of freebooters.[16]

Manifestly, the proclamation did nothing of the sort. Roosevelt overlooked the important fact that "lawful plunder," in military parlance, and as Clark used the term, did not mean property to be taken from Louisiana *civilians*, but *public property of the enemy government,* including "unappropriated lands," military supplies and other property used or intended for military purposes. By the "custom of war," such property has always been universally recognized by military commanders as the legitimate object of seizure and distribution amongst successful troops. Distinguishing "plunder" from robbery the Standard Dictionary says: "To plunder is to take property from an enemy in time of war and is not a crime at law." It is preposterous to assume, as Roosevelt did, that General Clark publicly called for volunteers to engage in robbing the Louisiana people, or that such a purpose could have met encouragement from the many worthy men who supported his enterprise.

Many more illustrations might be given of Roosevelt's reckless errors of fact and judgment, but perhaps those set forth may suffice to warn future writers against relying on them. Despite his generally hostile attitude toward Clark, however, Roosevelt does credit him with services of superlative value to his country. Summing them up, he said:

> To the harassed settlers in Kentucky his mere name was a tower of strength. He was the sole originator of the plan for the conquest of the northwestern lands and, almost unaided, he had executed his own scheme...Alone, and with the very slenderest means, he had conquered and held a vast and beautiful region, which but for him would have formed part of a foreign and hostile empire; he had clothed and paid his soldiers with the spoils of his enemies; he had spent his

[16] VI, 96.

> own fortune as carelessly as he had risked his life, and the only reward that he was destined for many years to receive was the sword voted him by the Legislature of Virginia.[17]

Yet, as if this nation should have no gratitude for such great services and patriotic sacrifices, Roosevelt had the temerity to declare that General Clark "deserved obscurity"! Certainly his distorted portrayals must have prejudiced many of his readers against Clark and prevented them from appreciating his lofty character and public services and thus tended to consign him not to "deserved" but emphatically undeserved obscurity.

Many far more trustworthy historians entirely free from prejudice against Clark have unintentionally helped to consign him to obscurity by ignoring his public services or even existence. This has been especially true of northeastern writers.

For example, James Truslow Adams, an able and unusually fairminded historian, in his recent interesting and popular *Epic of America*, does not mention Clark or the winning of our first Great West east of the Mississippi. In his preface he says that in preparing the book he "has been equally interested in the whole colorful pageant of the great epic which is our history, and in trying to discover how we became what we have become."

It would be difficult to see how we could have "become what we have become" without possession of our first Great West. It would be difficult also to find any phase of "the whole colorful pageant of the great epic which is our history," more colorful, or dramatic, or heroic, or so abounding in "spectacular settings, strongly contrasted actors, tense situations and thrilling actions," than the western struggle under Clark's leadership by which the great region was won.

How nearly hopeless it seems to correct the oft-repeated *antedating* of the time when General Clark first became intemperate, is shown in the recent life of him by Professor James Alton James. He appears to give little credit to the absurd story of several of the Wabash expedition mutineers, attributing their disgraceful mutiny to Clark's drinking, or to the earlier drink charge circulated by his new-state enemies following the Blue Licks defeat; but by a singular misreading of two letters to Clark from his

[17] II, 198.

friend, James Monroe, he thinks he finds convincing evidence that Clark did drink to excess during that earlier period. He said:

> But testimony to the effect that Clark at times "drank to an excess" must be accepted when it came as an expression of James Monroe, a friendly critic; nor was the accusation denied by Clark.[18]

To support this statement James cites a letter from Monroe to Clark, written from Richmond January 5, 1783. This was soon after the Blue Licks defeat and when Clark's enemies were busiest spreading their false rumors to discredit him there. A more careful reading of Monroe's letter would have shown that he neither made nor intended any such "accusation." He had been in friendly correspondence with Clark about western affairs and wrote not to *accuse* him, but to *inform* him of ugly reports being circulated at Richmond to his prejudice, including excessive drinking, and to suggest that he vindicate himself against them.

In support of his assertion that General Clark did not deny Monroe's so-called "accusation," James says:

> In Monroe's next letter he spoke of having received a reply, but makes no reference to any denial by Clark of the accusation.[19]

This is adding error to error. That second letter of Monroe (written Oct. 19, 1783, nine months after the first) said nothing whatever of his receiving a "reply" from Clark, or anything about drinking, or about any other subject mentioned in his earlier letter. It concerned an entirely different matter, namely Monroe's purchase from Major Crittenden of some Kentucky land about which he asked Clark's friendly advice. Crittenden, wishing to sell part of his Kentucky land to Monroe, got letters of recommendation to him from Clark and others. Satisfied by them of Crittenden's highly honorable character, Monroe bought an undivided part of the land with the privilege of choosing such part as he preferred, and wrote his second letter to ask Clark's advice as to what part he should select.

If General Clark ever wrote a reply to Monroe's first letter we have no knowledge of it. Presumably he wrote none, for when he received that letter he was not only extremely occupied in Ken-

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[18] 352.
[19] 353n.

tucky, but had resigned his military command and was about leaving for Richmond. There he doubtless saw Monroe and discussed his affairs with him. Certain it is that Monroe's high esteem for him remained unabated, as may clearly be seen from his second letter itself quoted below.[19 1-2]

Richmond, Oct. 19, 1783

Dear Sir:

I was favd a few days since with yours, by our friend Majr Crittenden, and thank you very sincerely for its contents. My engagements with the Major are to a considerable amount, were founded, and have since been conducted, upon a perfect confidence in his honor and integrity, sentiments wh were form'd in my mind in favr of him by your own & the communications of Col. Marshall & his son John. His conduct hitherto has been perfectly honorable & fully corresponding with your information; & I have no apprehensions that I shall at any future period have reason to be dissatisfied with him; On the contrary my confidence hath increased from a personal acquaintance & tryal of him. I have to beg of you that, as you will be in that country with the Maj & will have an opportunity of seeing his land sold me, that you will with him give me your opinion of that wh you think the preferable. He will give you a list of the tracts out of which I am to chuse.

Tomorrow I set out for Princeton so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you before you go. My wishes are that you have a safe & profitable trip.

With respect to the employment you have heard I have in contemplation, I can assure you I have not made up my mind thereon, even if I had the office within my reach; but if I had & was ever so solicitious of it, these appointments are so uncertain & depend on such a variety of contingencies that it wod be to calculated on as a remote probability.

I intended going with Mr. Jefferson some time since, when he held ye appointment to the c[our]t of Versailles to negotiate ye pease, but whether he will now go or not is uncertain and if he does tis very doubtful, as said above, whether I shall accompany him. But whether I stay on the continent of America, or go abroad, I shall always be glad to hear from you & shall be very happy to render you service.

You will continue to correspond with me at Princeton, or wherever Congress may reside and shall wish you to make yr communications as usual with perfect freedom. Our interests in the western country are very similar & of course whatever will promote mine will serve yours. The plans wh

[19 1-2] Draper MSS 52-92.

> I take with respect to my private property I will inform you of & wish you also to inform me what you think ye most eligible. Of this you may rest assured that ye object of this part of ye State, an object which will govern all our councils, will be to effect a separation & erect an independent State westwd, as it will enable us to economise our affrs here & give us greater strength in ye feodiral councils.
>
> I am very sincerely yr most obt & very humble servt.
>
> Jas Monroe

Another of Professor James' loose readings of source materials shows a strange failure to grasp the aim and effect of one of General Clark's brilliant and effective stratagems. This was during the Wabash Expedition, the very time when he was afterward represented by some of the mutineers as being incapacitated by drink.

When the expedition troops gathered by the Ohio Falls, opposite Louisville, Clark learned that the Shawnee warriors had left their towns in central Ohio and joined the hostile Indians on the Wabash. To draw the warlike Shawnee away from their confederates, who would thus be greatly weakened and discouraged, he ordered Colonel Logan to return to Kentucky, raise a force there and *attack the Shawnee towns in Ohio.* This Logan easily did and the stratagem completely served Clark's purpose; for, learning of Logan's movement, the Shawnee warriors on the Wabash promptly deserted their allies there and hurried home. But for this serious weakening and discouragement of the Wabash Indians Clark might not have been able afterward to bring them, as he did, to cease hostilities.

In a single sentence Professor James described this important incident and misstated the facts thus:

> Colonel Logan, as recommended by Clark in a council of officers, was ordered to return to the Kentucky settlements for the purpose of marshalling the delinquents and one half of the militia not drafted, and proceed as rapidly as possible to *Vincennes*![20]

He then described Logan's expedition against the Shawnee as if it had not been ordered by Clark, but was a wholly independent one of Logan's conception, entirely unrelated to the main expedition against the Indians on the Wabash![21]

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[20] 355.
[21] 356-57.

These comments upon Professor James' book are made and others will follow because he compiled the *George Rogers Clark Papers* and may therefore be regarded as an impeccable authority concerning Clark by readers unfamiliar with the facts about Clark's career, and who do not appreciate the wide difference between the work of a compiler and that of a biographer. A compiler's task is to gather and arrange all the papers he can find concerning his subject, but not to make the kind of study and use of them necessary for writing biography. The compiler's work may be most helpful to the historian or biographer, but often differs from theirs much as the work of those who furnish materials for a building differs from that of its architect.

No one, I think, can understand Clark's career, or the western phase of the Revolutionary War, or how our first Great West was won without knowing the crooked aims and activities and the powerful influence of the Indiana and Vandalia land companies and their new-state confederates in the West. Yet Professor James leaves his readers completely uninformed about them. He makes no mention of them, or of their enmity and harassing opposition to General Clark, although informed of them by critically reading my life of Clark, which he reviewed before writing his own. Whether he ever investigated the subject we do not know, but that he did not seems strongly indicated by what he says in praise of Col. George Morgan, apparently without knowing that Morgan was a leading member and most active agent of the Indiana Company in furthering its crooked scheme and opposing Clark.[22]

In his preface Professor James says, and we do not question, that his desire was to present "without defense or eulogy" a "sympathetic interpretation" of Clark's personality. Yet he makes some ugly and quite unjustified reflections upon him. One of them, made by quotation rather than assertion, concerns Governor Harrison's censure of General Clark for ordering the survey of a body of land on the north side of the Ohio River by the Falls. It was to that censure we have seen Roosevelt referring with such severe condemnation of Clark.

The land to be surveyed had been granted by an act of the Virginia Assembly in 1784 to the officers and men of Clark's Illinois Regiment for their years of military service. The act created

[22] 44, 183-4.

a commission, headed by General Clark, and required it to survey the land promptly and before a given day. He was sworn and under bond to have this done, and was having it done when an eastern visitor, evidently ignorant of western affairs, wrote a letter to the President of Congress saying the survey would cause a quarrel with the Indians. This idea was entirely groundless, but the President in a letter to Governor Harrison protested against the survey. Harrison, also ignorant of the real conditions under which the survey was being made, and personally unfriendly to General Clark, replied also condemning the ordered survey and saying that, in view of the assembly act, he was legally powerless, but would do all he could to stop Clark. Then, none to his own credit, he added: "But I am confident he [Clark] will turn a deaf ear to my orders, as he has the sanction of a much higher power for going on with his work and perhaps *may have some secret motive for wishing to bring about what you and I think will be so extremely prejudicial to this state in particular and to America in general!*"

Harrison was here charging the man who, as he well knew, had for eight years risked and sacrificed everything to shield Virginia and her people from the Indians, with secretly aiming to bring upon them the horrors of savage war!

He then wrote Clark severely upbraiding him for cruelly proceeding with the survey and saying to him that he "must well know it would involve us in a most bloody and expensive war."

In fact there was not the least danger of this survey causing any war. The only Indians who had ever claimed the country embracing the land to be surveyed were the Piankeshaw, who were and had always been friendly to Clark and the Americans. They had begged him to reside in their country and be their protector, and even insisted upon giving him a deed conveying to him most of the very land ordered to be surveyed, although he would never claim title under it.

These facts, showing Clark innocent of any wrong and required to do what he was doing, were fully shown in my life of him, but Professor James does not mention them. Instead, without a word of explanation, he quotes Harrison's letter to Clark saying he "must well know it would involve us in a most bloody and expensive war."[23] Surely Professor James carried over-far his

[23] 329-30.

expressed desire to avoid "defense or eulogy" of Clark, when he himself quoted Harrison's unjust charge but said nothing to let his readers know it was unjust.

More important, however, than anything already commented on from Professor James' book, is his repetition, as unquestioned historic truths, of Wilkinson's cunning fabrications in his plot to overthrow and succeed General Clark. That plot was a masterpiece of ingenious construction, and it accomplished its purpose.

Lest some of you don't know what manner of man Wilkinson was, let me say Professor Frederick Turner declared him "America's greatest artist in treason," and, I would add, in other treacheries. Handsome, of keen intellect and charming manners, insinuating, daring, unabashed in any presence, a most pious moralist with the pious, but coarse and profane with vulgar intimates, greedy for wealth and power, he made a business of courting the influential and plotting to supplant the men above him. When only eighteen he entered the army before Boston and attached himself to Benedict Arnold, but some years later secretly charged Arnold with peculation as clothier-general, and himself succeeded to that office. After leaving Arnold's command he joined the staff of General Gates, by whom he was greatly advanced, and was deep in the Conway Cabal to elevate Gates to Washington's place as commander-in-chief. Later he turned against Gates and treacherously exposed his connection with the Cabal.

After the war he removed to Kentucky where he found that General Clark stood in his way and at once began plotting his overthrow. Next he conspired with the Spanish governor at New Orleans to detach Kentucky from the Union, secretly swore allegiance to the Spanish King and received from him yearly a traitor's pension and an exclusive privilege of trade with New Orleans. Several years later, while an officer under General Wayne, Wilkinson is found scheming to overthrow and succeed him also. Upon Wayne's death, in 1796, he became commander-in-chief of the United States Army and remained such for nearly twenty years. Even while in that high command he had intimate and decidedly questionable relations with Aaron Burr during the latter's famous conspiracy, but at length turned against him and caused his trial for treason.

This was the man who, soon after the mutiny on the Wabash, hatched his plot to discredit and supplant General Clark. At that time, as we have seen, Clark's army on the Wabash had disbanded and returned home; he had himself returned to Louisville; even the few men he had enlisted to garrison Vincennes had disbanded for want of food; he no longer had a single soldier under his command. He still, however, stood undeniably the first military leader in the West and was the man Congress would naturally appoint as commissioner to treat with the confederated Indians at the coming treaty meeting he had arranged with them. But Wilkinson coveted that position and hence his plot to ruin Clark. By a series of pretended copies of letters and other writings of his own contriving, by fictitious reports of a fictitious committee of a popular convention that had never assembled; by garbled extracts of other writings—all adroitly designed to dovetail with one another—and by sleight-of-hand substitutions as artful as any stage magician's, he framed and sent to Governor Randolph a number of deceptive papers making up a most plausible indictment against General Clark. It represented him as raising a great army to invade Spanish Louisiana by enlisting men at Vincennes, where there were almost none, and others in the Nashville region of Tennessee, where the few inhabitants, instead of sending men against Louisiana, were then barely able to resist extermination by the southern Indians. That the great imaginary army was only Wilkinson's invention appears from the fact that, among the innumerable extant letters and other writings of that time, whether written by people in Kentucky or Nashville, or Vincennes, or anywhere else, not one, *except those sent by Wilkinson to Randolph*, has ever been found which refers to any such army, or any enlistments for it, or to any such design to invade Spanish Louisiana!

The deceptive papers Wilkinson sent Randolph not only represented Clark as raising a great army of invasion, but as so besotted with drink as to be "utterly unqualified for business of any kind." They were sent to Randolph only a few weeks after the Wabash expedition ended. Yet just *before* the marching of the expedition we have seen Clark's prompt and able strategy forcing the Shawnee warriors to desert the main body of his Indian enemies on the Wabash. That hardly indicated mental incapacity *before* the expedition. Again, just *after* the collapse of the expe-

dition we have seen his still more brilliant stratagem when, with LeGras' help, he brought the confederated Wabash tribes to cease warring and arrange for peace. That hardly indicated mental incapacity *after* the expedition.

In this day of telegraph and radio Wilkinson's plot would be impracticable, but he well knew how exceedingly slow and uncertain was communication from the West to Richmond and how ignorant officials at that capital were about what was going on in the West. He could confidently expect his fabricated papers would deceive Randolph, would throw him into a panic lest Clark involve us in a war with Spain, and would cause him to take summary steps against Clark to prevent such a war. This was exactly what Randolph did and very precipitately. To conciliate Spain he and his council disavowed any previous knowledge of Clark's actions, as they were falsely represented, and then impaled him with the most baseless and cruelly unjust condemnation I know of in all our history. Without notice to Clark, without opportunity given him for defense, he was condemned as a malefactor by the governor and council, denounced as such by the governor's printed proclamation, posted everywhere throughout the state that all might read, and ordered to be prosecuted as a criminal!

We can imagine the shock General Clark received when he read that proclamation. His condemnation in it was official, unappealable, final. With a most honorable past record, and no doubt proud of it, worn by seven years of service and sacrifice for his state, and penniless by reason of them, we may imagine the crushing mortification he suffered, the agony of his days and sleepless nights, and why, breaking under the mental and nerve strain he sought escape in the oblivion of drink. Let any one who has suffered as he did, and has successfully resisted the cup of relief, judge him for then draining it.

As I have said elsewhere, his first intemperance was far the worst. It was followed by a long and brave fight against the disease that then gained hold of him. At times afterward—usually only after very long intervals—it again overcame him; but for over twenty years he led a life which though saddened was generally temperate, industrious and becoming until he was paralyzed and became a physical and mental wreck.

All that has now been said, and much more about the deceptive nature of the papers Wilkinson sent Governor Randolph, as well as numerous documentary and other evidences and considerations to expose their falsehoods and prove his authorship of them, were fully set forth in my life of Clark. I hoped it would prevent repetition of Wilkinson's falsifications by later writers, but in this was much disappointed when Professor James' life of Clark soon afterward appeared. When he prepared it, as already stated, he had critically read and reviewed my life of Clark, although it is not mentioned in his preface, text or extensive bibliography; yet he adopts and quotes Wilkinson's falsifications as historical truths and even does so without an intimation that their verity had ever been questioned by any earlier writer.

Hardly less unjust was Professor James' long description of the so-called Spanish Conspiracy as if Clark, in some unexplained way, was a party to it. He never was a party to it and James does not say he was, but he leads his readers to think he was. In truth the alleged conspiracy was a fiction invented by Marshall to discredit other Kentucky leaders, as fully explained in my introduction to *Littell's Political Transactions*; but even Marshall did not charge Clark with being in any way connected with it.

Mr. James Truslow Adams' review of Professor James' book illustrates the influence of misleading statements by a supposedly unerring historical authority and the need for correcting them. Like most other northeastern historians Mr. Adams was probably not enough interested in early western events and men to make any considerable investigation of the facts about them. Evidently however he thinks Professor James knew all the facts about Clark and treated them "in a fair and unbiased spirit." He says:

> In his volume of over 500 pages he has given us practically all the known, and probably ascertainable facts relating to all periods of Clark's life. [?] Yet when we finish the book it is with the feeling that after all there is little worth remembering about the hero except his capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Those two brilliant episodes, so successfully carried out in the face of great obstacles, were assuredly two of the most important in the history of the Revolution, if not of America . . . Had it not been for him England would probably not have transferred the great western territory to the new United States . . . But even so, in spite of all Pro-

fessor James' researches, he remains the man of an episode, not of a career.

Prefacing and explaining this conclusion and his declaration that there is little worth remembering about Clark except his capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, Adams says:

> Men who have been important enough from their influence upon affairs to demand biographical treatment may have had careers or may merely have been the heroes of an episode. In the former case the reader's interest is likely to be far more sustained than in the latter, although we naturally want to know something of the before and after of a man who had played a great part at some critical moment, even though he emerged from it from one deserved obscurity only to sink back into another . . . Such a flash-in-the-pan life is not indicative of great character, however great a part the man may have played for the brief moment which is his claim to glory.

Except the few who have really investigated the contemporary records and become familiar with the facts about Clark, readers relying on James' biography can hardly fail to share Mr. Adams' disparaging estimate of Clark. They will learn nothing of the way his land company and new-state enemies invented and circulated the drink and other charges against him, will be led to believe Wilkinson's falsehoods about him were true and had never been questioned by any one, and to think that Clark was party to the so-called Spanish conspiracy.

When Clark's great services and unexampled patriotic sacrifices for this nation are remembered, I think all must feel that he is entitled to vindication against damaging misrepresentations in history by whomsoever made. That vindication is frankly the object of this paper: To complete it, however, other misrepresentations of his career after Wilkinson's plot and Randolph's proclamation need discussion, but as my time limit prevents that now, they will be treated later in another paper.

THE EPIC HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

By William Baringer

One of the platitudes of that overworked Muse, Clio, is that each generation must write its own history. The generation which saw Abraham Lincoln's giant frame and voted for or against him and felt the shock of his tragic death, gave him a high place in history at the behest of their emotions. From the presses as President Lincoln passed from the earth there gushed a stream of sentimental volumes painting a Lincoln strange indeed to modern eyes. In some mysterious fashion, the American people like to believe, an omnipotent deity had placed Lincoln in power to save from destruction the political form in which the good American people expressed and demonstrated their superior virtues. That Lincoln saved the Union was no mere political victory to the great majority of *post bellum* Americans. Rather it was good triumphant over evil after a Faustian conflict. And those on the winning side were grateful. Idolatry was the result. Lincoln became, in the words of Lloyd Lewis, "a faith—a religion, symbol of the destiny of the Republic, as his believers saw it, the triumph of the common man."[1]

This deification of President Lincoln proceeded with a typically religious reluctance to respect cold facts. Symbolic of these early Lincoln books was a frontispiece of one, labelled "Mr. Lincoln's First Public Address." It was a lithograph depicting a tall, lank youth addressing from a soap-box a handful of rustics in a frontier village. Young as he was, long whiskers stuck out from Abraham's chin.[2]

Rebelling against this imaginary Lincoln-and-God partnership, personal friends of the late President attacked the myth-making trend and endeavored to force Americans to see Lincoln as he really was. But the books of Lamon and Herndon were for many years unpopular; sentimental American minds regarded them as sacrilegious.

[1] *Myths After Lincoln*, 388; W. E. Barton, "The Lincoln of the Biographers," *Transactions*, Illinois State Historical Society, 1929, 71-72, 94-99.

[2] Z. A. Mudge, *The Forest Boy: A Sketch of the Life of Abraham Lincoln*. For Young People. (New York, c1867.)

Decades later when America had become a world power, the sentimentalist's holy Lincoln was definitely on the wane. The scientific age was dawning; the American mind was reaching for maturity. Learning that Herndon and Lamon were right about the personality of Lincoln, historians carried on with efforts to evaluate Lincoln's historical significance in terms of his part in building the American nation. Senator Beveridge planned four huge volumes to explain how the administration of the sixteenth President developed America's constitutional democracy.

The historical student of today, however, is impressed with the shocking fact that the American democracy is by no means secure. Democracy as a form of government presents itself, after a brief period of wide acceptance and application, as an adolescent thing, young in the world,[3] which might die even in the land of its birth.[4] The machine age interpreter of the past sees that Beveridge and writers of his day lived on the other side of a great turning point in history. The new era, dominated by economic forces, reminds the historian that if Lincoln's story has any significance, any teaching, for the modern mind, the importance of his career must be sought not in terms of religion or politics, but economics.

No American tradition is more deeply rooted than that Abraham Lincoln was a supremely great man. That belief has even become a prejudice. When a few years ago Edgar Lee Masters had the originality to deny Lincoln's greatness (on unreliable premises) his book became almost a national scandal. The rest of the world has taken America at its word. More books have been written about Lincoln than any other human, with the possible exception of Luther and Jesus of Nazareth.[5] European nations erect statues to him. The Orient, in spite of fundamental thought differences, uses Lincoln's phrases in praise of human liberty more than those of any other person, and Orientals respect him, as the

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[3] Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, 50.

[4] *Cf.* below. Democracies prior to the American were but partial democracies. Everett Dean Martin, *Liberty*, 1.

[5] J. G. Randall, "Is the Lincoln Theme Exhausted?" *American Historical Review*, January 1936; A. H. Griffith, "Lincoln Literature, Lincoln Collections, and Lincoln Collectors," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XV, no. 2.

representative humanitarian, more than any other personality of western civilization.[6]

A critical examination, however, of Lincoln's gigantic reputation, from traditional viewpoints, makes the philosopher wonder if the historical prominence of the Illinois lawyer whom erratic circumstances of politics called to lead the nation at the hour of greatest peril to its national union, was not more based on historical good luck than good works. A turn of political fortune made him President, to the surprise of everyone, including himself.[7] The average American, asked why he thinks Lincoln a great man, replies, "He freed the slaves." But Lincoln was merely an instrument in freeing the slaves; he was not a militant leader in that specific movement to expand human liberty.[8] Besides, slavery of the Southern type was doomed by the rising force of cheap machine labor which was the industrial revolution. Slavery in the South would have eventually disappeared if Captain Lincoln had been tomahawked in the Black Hawk War.[9] To illustrate, in 1865 the Confederacy promised emancipation in return for British recognition, as a last desperate attempt to ward off defeat.

Since numberless American citizens make a hobby of studying Lincoln, sooner or later the skeptical inquiring philosopher would encounter one. Better informed, the Lincoln cultist would doubtless reply that Lincoln saved the Union. And here he is on solid ground, for many Lincoln biographers and historians likewise assume that Lincoln was one of the greatest men in history because he saved the Union, without troubling to explain what was so overwhelmingly great about that. True, Lincoln won the Civil War, but that was his job. Defeating the Confederacy was not, of itself,

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[6] V. Mathuramuthu Samuel, in *Daily Illini*, Champaign-Urbana, Ill., June 10, 1934, p. 2; Sumiko Tokuda, "Abraham Lincoln: A Japanese Interpretation," *Abraham Lincoln Association Bulletin*, no. XV, June 1, 1929; Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln: His Path to the Presidency*, 1-10; L. A. Warren (ed.), *Lincoln Lore*, No. 200, "Lincoln's Place in the Universe."

Other significant sources in this connection—Charles Reynolds Brown, *Lincoln: The Greatest Man of the Nineteenth Century;* John Drinkwater, *Lincoln the World Emancipator;* J. T. Hobson, *The Master and His Servant:* Comparative Outline Sketches of the Redeemer of Mankind and the Emancipator of a Race. A juvenile writer, Adriane Gilbert, in *More Than Conquerors*, amusingly denominates Lincoln "The Matterhorn of Men." Another, Urias J. Hoffman, writes of *Abraham Lincoln, the Greatest of Good Men, the Best of Great Men.*

[7] Baringer, *Abraham Lincoln: Favorite Son*, A History of his Nomination. (In preparation.) F. L. Paxson, "The Promise of the First Republican Administration: Abraham Lincoln, 1860," *Abraham Lincoln Association Papers*, 1934, 38-39.

[8] N. W. Stephenson, "Lincoln's Permanent Significance," in Stephenson's *Lincoln*, 428-431.

[9] Robert S. Henry, *The Story of the Confederacy*, 11.

an event of enormous historical importance but merely a war won. The Lincoln cultist might also hazard that Lincoln might not have been a great reformer or creative statesman but he cannot be denied importance as a literary figure. True, Lincoln did write great prose, some of which deserved to live on even if he had never become President, with "Areopagitica," Locke's essay on Toleration and Mill's essay on Liberty, but Lincoln's literary output certainly does not put him in the class of literary titans like Virgil, Dante, Shelley, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Goethe, Cervantes. Nor is his literary position, combined with his success as a practical statesman, sufficient to justify the ubiquitous growth of the Lincoln reputation.

Examining this phenomenon of renown thus critically, attempting to explain it on traditional grounds, Lincoln's fame seems hardly more than sentimental attachment to a martyr. Is Lincoln merely an American Jeanne d'Arc, a national hero who played a melodramatic rôle for his nation's glory, then died in that blaze of drama which is martyrdom, leaving the world to continue exactly as it was before the lamented heroic spirit appeared? This explains the magnificent Lincoln Memorial but not his unique international influence. Men of highest importance in the world mind, the loftiest figures of history, were great creators like Plato, Confucius, Jesus, Gautama, Voltaire, Luther, Marx, Roger and Francis Bacon, Aristotle.[10] In partial explanation of Lincoln's place in the world mind, though he created nothing, we might remark his personal story, which gave the world an epic of imperishable literary interest, placing Lincoln on a pedestal as the spirit of liberty incarnate, the human symbol of democracy. Did the New World, in unconscious vanity, place the former Springfield citizen in the Valhalla of heroes alongside Washington to show the Old World that Europe and Asia hold no monopoly on Titans?

But somehow this seems to leave something unsaid. We feel that Lincoln honestly belongs, as H. G. Wells placed him, in a list of the six greatest men of history. Lincoln does have a preëminent significance for the modern industrial world. His career contains an economic teaching for the contemporary world which we would do well to learn and practice. James Truslow Adams, evaluating

[10] H. G. Wells, "The Three Greatest Men in History," *Readers Digest*, May 1935, 12-14.

the contribution of the American republican epic, writes of "that American dream of a better, richer, and happier life for all . . . citizens of every rank which is the greatest contribution we have as yet made to the thought and welfare of the world."[11] It is in this field of human progress that Lincoln made his brilliant contribution. The most important men of history are those who wrought great achievements as human benefactors. A Napoleon, Cyrus, or Genghis Khan looms large in power, small in creative influence. President Lincoln, critically, philosophically evaluated, occupies a foremost importance as a human benefactor because he ranks as history's chief defender of liberty in government. He first demonstrated that democracy can be maintained against terrific social shocks.

Democracy was not, of course, an American creation. All great religions are based on a broad equalitarian appeal. Biology is democratic. The strongest dictator is no different from the humblest serf when microbes attack. Primitive life is democratic. Jungle law recognizes no privileged class, no underdogs. Each organism is dependent on its own strength. Even the king of beasts is liable to be overthrown at any moment. Primitive man, differing but slightly from the animals, in his early community organization lived by this jungle equality. The ablest man ruled, subject always to overthrow by someone stronger. There was, therefore, no vested class and the primitive political system created a rough and ready democracy.

But as advancing man slowly developed civilization, becoming steadily differentiated from the animals through his intelligence, primitive democracy declined. The higher civilization brought problems of politics which required more stable leadership. Quite naturally, the most capable individuals grasped leadership and as a matter of course labored to strengthen their position. From here it was but a step to creation of a privileged group which eventually became crystallized in monarchy. Thus, in hasty survey, the mass of the people gave up their natural, primitive equality in the interests of a necessary collective security.

When recorded history opens in the advanced civilization of the eastern Mediterranean, the nations of that region, Egypt, Sumeria, and the others, had already reached the monarchy stage.

[11] *The Epic of America,* viii.

But farther west around the Mediterranean were primitive peoples who, after developing their civilization, led the world and influenced all subsequent cultures. These Greek and Roman cultures demonstrate clearly the sweep of political and economic forces transforming primitive equality into autocratic rule. In tiny Hellas, protectively isolated, certain features of the biological politic carried over into the centuries which began the lofty Greek civilization. Geography caused political organization to begin in microcosmic city-state units. Citizens of Athens governed themselves directly by the Popular Assembly, a communal council which gave us our word "democracy." Even in militaristic Sparta, citizens selected their rulers. But this was no real democracy in the large or modern sense, for the citizen class was very restricted, holding absolute rule over a heavy majority of slaves. But even this restricted Greek democracy would not stand the test of years. Athens fell before regimented Sparta; then all Greek states lost their independence and became part of Alexander's Hellenistic Empire. Similarly, the Roman republic conquered the western world, then when Rome became an international sovereign, the republic collapsed. The Gracchi made an historic attempt to solve the economic problems of imperial Rome under the republican system. They failed completely and national chaos continued until the military dictatorship of Augustus. Rome had its golden age, then suffered decline.

Simultaneously with the growth of large scale political institutions in the western world, and holding almost no intercourse with the west, was the eastern civilization of India and China. Here, the natural equality of the struggle for existence was so far eclipsed that the phrases "castes of India" and "Oriental despotism" have become bywords representing the nadir of freedom.

During long centuries of the Middle Ages democracy was not practiced in the civilized world. But on the primitive fringes natural equality prevailed, a purely pagan kind of liberty counterbalanced somewhat in the more civilized regions by the protective, democratic ideals of Christianity. The brotherhood of man idea, the concept of human dignity, unknown to ancient civilizations, bears evidence to the rising tide of liberty.[12] The Dark Ages ended when the common man exercised his numerical superiority in

[12] *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed.), Brand Whitlock, "Democracy," VII, 182-183.

forcibly demanding release from Middle Age economic bondage. Political liberty, to be of any value, must be built on a foundation of economic liberty. So the rebelling serfs, while winning a measure of economic freedom, acquired no control of public affairs. Monarchy flourished anew; the age of Europe's great kings arrived.

These monarchs fought innumerable wars to strengthen the dynasty, and sent navigators exploring new seas for the nation's glory. Greatest of the discoveries was the New World. The very existence of the two vast virgin continents, awaiting exploitation, was a situation so unprecedented that Europe's great powers were slow to grasp the opportunity for political and economic expansion. When they did wake up, New Spain, New France, New England were built in a struggle for supremacy.

Reaching the New World, the exploiters found two extremes of civilization, low and high. Sparsely scattered over the vast region were tribes of savage redskins living in the easy-going primitive manner, much like Neolithic man of Europe had lived. In striking contrast was the highly developed material civilization of the Aztecs and the Incas. Primitive equality, again, had been crushed out by political force. The Aztecs had so little sympathy for the common man that humans were sacrificed by the ten thousand to celebrate a tribal god.

European nations, expanding into the New World, set up establishments in their own image. Colonies of France and Spain were monarchic in form and spirit, managed directly by the crown. England alone, of the three important colonizing powers, was not ruled by a decadent monarchy. English citizens enjoyed a measure of self-government, the fruit of hard political and economic struggle, and England's colonies were planted in the spirit of self-reliance and initiative. This, it turned out, suited the New World environment, and New England succeeded while New France and New Spain failed. In time, New England became so independent of Old England that the provincials were able to throw off their political subservience.

As political organization began in the New World, the force of primitive equality manifested itself. The brave souls of Scrooby Church, confronting the wilderness, attacked the problem of political organization by drawing the Mayflower Compact of self-govern-

ment as the simple. natural procedure. A century later this natural democracy had faded following the familiar trend, until in Salem there were witchcraft burnings.

Sir James Barrie's famous character, the Admirable Crichton, illustrates magnificently the leveling force of life under primitive conditions. Life in the New World was that. Civilization-bred inequalities collapsed; men became political, social, economic equals. Historians, with a unanimity surprising for them, accept the Turner theory that American democracy came not from altruistic brotherhood-of-man ideals, but from the leveling power of the struggle against nature. Though as colonies grew and acquired old world forms there were anti-democratic forces like that which produced the witchcraft affair, reversions were in the long run minor because on the limitless frontier democracy was constantly reborn. As the new United States began its career as an independent nation, there was a conflict over its political character between the Europeanized East and frontier. The West won out in short order, while the East contributed to the future of the nation of the free by adding a leaven of order to exuberant, dynamic frontier equality.

So the twig was bent. The bending force for democracy, demonstrating anew history's teaching, was economic equality, priceless gift of the cosmos. How could the capable, self-reliant American masses be tied down by the power of the privileged few when the liberty of the unfettered frontier beckoned to the underprivileged to move west and build one's life to fit one's own desires and abilities? The pioneer will-to-power, nourished unendingly by the soil, flourished until, under Jackson, the West won control of the national government and used that control to wipe out the remains of political discrimination against the common man.

American democracy became the wonder of the world. Europe's masses, reaching for political liberty without much success, took hope. In France, prior to the French Revolution, the Encyclopaedists had laid the foundation of modern democracy by developing the unprecedented theory of progress, the concept of man's perfectibility through the upbuilding of knowledge and power to direct the material environment to serve human needs. This tremendous advance beyond the notice that man is ruled by divine caprice, constituted, according to America's great twentieth-century

historian, "the most dynamic social theory ever shaped in the history of thought."[13] Monarchs, weakened by the French Revolution, viewed with alarm the dangerous American influence. Count de Tocqueville, enthusiastically limning the new republic for Europe's edification in Jacksonian days, sounded a note of warning. Misunderstanding the real influence of free land, he warned that the new form of government was too paternalistic and might easily become a tyranny. The American dream, like other dreams of democracy, was not expected to endure.

By the decade of the forties the frontier had been pushed west of the Mississippi, and in the older East democracy was showing unmistakable signs of decadence. The expanding industrial revolution, under unchallenged laissez faire doctrine, gave full economic liberty to burgeoning commercial barons but none to the worker class. Textile operatives in Massachusetts worked fifteen hours a day, were locked inside their factory. In the South's agrarian economy, ruled by cotton culture, economic liberty and had never been nature's gift to the common man. The South, indeed, had never had a true frontier. An agrarian aristocracy, having seized power at the start, withheld it from all other classes. American liberty, in Southern ideology, was the possession of the ruling class only. The slave system, in short, created a Greek democracy.[14]

This legal slavery of the South and wage slavery of the North amounted to an attack on the American dream.[15] Once more a pristine democracy was reeling under the crushing force of social complexity. Every intelligent student of history is impressed with civilization's tendency to breed dictators. Indeed the sweep of human affairs seems to advance through the years in a Spenglerian cycle from primitive equality, to constitutional democracy, to dictatorship, to a golden age (or rather a gold-plated age), to national decline. Lincoln expressed it in a trenchant phrase; "they knew the tendency of posterity to breed tyrants," he said to a crowd one day during his famous tilt with Douglas, referring to the founders of the American republic. And he warned that liberty, far from being automatic, requires vigilant protection.[16]

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[13] Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, 443.
[14] Herbert Agar, *The People's Choice*, I, 109-110.
[15] Adams, *Epic of America*, 200.
[16] Speech at Beardstown, Ill., Aug. 12, 1858, in Paul M. Angle (ed.), *Herndon's Lincoln*, 339.

The expanding vigor of the American democracy, constantly reborn on the frontier, pinched the Greek democracy of the South. And the slaveholders, after four decades of struggle inside the Union against domination by the alien economy of the free North, decided to sever the burdensome political relation. The Greek democracy, independent of the American, sought to build a new Carthage. Secessionists talked constantly about Southern rights and how they would fight for liberty against the tyrant North as the colonies fought England. Philosophically viewed, however, the Confederacy was really fighting for the right to define liberty on their own terms, which meant in practice, the paradoxical liberty to deny liberty to all unprivileged classes. The North, opposing this reactionary, European doctrine, fought a war more gigantic than any history recorded. Politically, the Lincoln Administration fought to preserve the *status quo*, but in protecting the Union they fought for no mere shibboleth. The Union symbolized and applied the ideal of liberty in government, and important actors on the Union side fully appreciated the influence of their labors on the world's political philosophy.

When secession began President Buchanan applied every possible means to defeat disunion by rational conciliation and compromise. In his annual message, December, 1860, he told why the Union was worth saving. Should the American republic be shattered, said Buchanan, "the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of leaden despotism would enshroud the nations. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government."

President Lincoln, addressing to Congress in July, 1861, his war message, said: "This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form . . . of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; . . . to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. . . .

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal

attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion. . . .

"And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy . . . can . . . maintain its territorial integrity against its domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals . . . can . . . break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: 'Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?'" President Lincoln said the same thing in the second and last sentences of the Gettysburg address.

John Hay, one day when the tide of battle was running against the North and it seemed that President Lincoln was destined to be an American Gracchus, wrote in his diary, "I consider the central idea pervading this struggle is the necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity."[17] European monarchs looked with satisfaction upon the impending crack-up of New World republicanism. Napoleon III did more. He moved to establish the French Empire as a neighbor to the Confederacy.

But after four years of war Lincoln succeeded in saving the Union. Fragile democracy was rescued; the experiment of self-government went on. If during reconstruction politics the South was denied democracy, if in the North industrial feudalism grew tremendously, if the party of Lincoln swiftly deserted its original liberal principles and fostered instead a firm plutocratic trend,[18] still the larger trend was expanding self-government. Europe timidly moved in that direction. Labor organizations appeared and challenged the autocratic power of capital over workers. If Lincoln had failed and the Confederacy successfully stood on its platform of slave labor, can it be imagined that the status of all labor would not have suffered decline? The South would not long have retained its paternalistic, inelastic system of owning labor because it was too expensive alongside cheap machine labor. But the change would by no means have been a bestowal of liberty

[17] Tyler Dennett, *John Hay*, 47-48.

[18] Edgar Lee Masters, in his *Lincoln the Man*, wrote an amazing diatribe in which he laid blame on Lincoln for the anti-liberal abuses of the "robber baron" era which dominated *post-bellum* America.

upon the laboring class. Rather, slavery would have been replaced by some less expensive form of labor exploitation—serfdom, peonage, or wage slavery. Mexico, for example, abolished slavery more than a century ago, but peonage fastened enduring shackles upon the common man of Mexico. Only in the present decade has Mexico, by communistic measures, begun to attempt to make economic liberty more than a paper privilege. Modern Ethiopia presents a parallel case.

Expanding industry of the "robber baron" era was no dynamic democratizing force. But America still possessed that force in the far-western frontier. In the eighties that was absorbed, a phenomenon of profound importance which historians call the disappearance of "the last American frontier." Rather, only the external frontier was gone. Remaining was a second frontier, the internal, of incalculable size. Economists talk about extensive and intensive cultivation of land. Extensive cultivation of America was over by 1890; then began a thriving period of intensive cultivation. It produced big business. But democracy did not suffer because the internal frontier was creative too, and the rights of labor were not beaten down.

Among progressive nations, as the twentieth century got under way, democracy as the best form of government seemed a proved, permanent thing. Then came the World War, starting as a sanguinary episode in the balance of power but eventually taking a sentimental turn which made the great slaughter seem a Homeric duel between two forms of government—democracy and autocracy. Democracy, on top in the outcome, was regarded as more firmly entrenched than ever before. Many a nation which entered the war a monarchy, emerged a republic. The world had been made safe for democracy. Political philosophers, convinced that democracy looked forward to a long future, concerned themselves not with justifying it but with discovering and pointing out how republican government in practice could be improved, made efficient.[19] Professor Stephenson, seeking Lincoln's permanent significance, found it in "his utter modernism," defining modernism as the liberal trend away from harsh restrictions characteristic of the medieval mind. Democracy was the *Zeitgeist.*

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[19] Will Durant, *The Mansions of Philosophy,* 428-448; Martin, *Liberty,* 6-14, 271-307.

But late in the decade of the nineteen-twenties, after a period of furious expansion, the greatest panic of history arrived when industry ceased to expand. The panic did not cure itself, as according to the rules it should, and the profoundly important economic fact that the internal frontier was no more, arose like a bogey to menace democracy. A new era had arrived for the American republic. Democracy ceased to be self-perpetuating because natural economic liberty was gone. Democracy, far from having won permanence, went on probation again as it did in 1860.

No one can expect to be believed if he says dogmatically that the natural democracy of the frontier, especially of the impalpable internal frontier, is no longer available to the world. But indications are that liberty, (civil, political, and economic) will succeed in the future (if it does) without the aid of a levelling frontier. Americans, seeking a remedy for an unemployed population as large as Canada's total population, hear talk about yet undeveloped "frontiers"—the Alaska frontier, "America's last," the scientific frontier.[20] But this is a confusion of terms. Alaska, science, do not present a creative frontier but merely an opportunity for planned, subsidized expansion. The economy of scarcity which operated in all previous centuries always gave room for expansion, but the economy of abundance, brought about by the machine labor of the industrial revolution, puts a period to expansion and requires that economic liberty seek another base, namely, the rights of man. For example, contemporary England, after a decade of panic which refused to end when there was no direction in which to expand, was obliged to face the facts and consciously begin to restore economic liberty by internal retrenchment; a conservative government was forced to create socialistic legislation.

Today, while in Europe democracy steadily declines, people sacrificing their political and even their civil liberties in a desperate effort to attain economic liberty, when we are forced to make economic readjustments so strenuous as to be revolutionary in our search for renewed economic democracy,[21] we begin to understand the epic historical importance to our machine age of Lincoln's great work, his great example, in demonstrating that democracy is not necessarily compatible only with the simple life, that liberty

[20] *Time*, May 6, 1935, p. 17; Adams, *Epic of America*, preface of 1934 edition; Stuart Chase, "Parade of the Gravediggers," *Harpers Magazine*, August, 1935.

[21] Agar, *The People's Choice*, 312-314.

in government can be saved in spite of the crushing weight of a complex economic society. Borrowing the phraseology of John Hay, Lincoln proved that popular government is not an absurdity. He upheld political liberty against a serious attack, and left a liberal tradition of creative value to the machine age in the current struggle to recapture economic liberty. Because he showed that a liberal government can, by intelligent management and conscious purpose, withstand social shocks and continue to serve the rights of man, President Lincoln wrought an example of greatest importance to contemporary statesmen who seek to carry on man's continuing climb to civilization.

CULTURE IN ILLINOIS IN LINCOLN'S DAY

By Florence Walton Taylor

So much has been written concerning Abraham Lincoln, that some students venture to say the Lincoln theme is almost exhausted, and yet there still remain studies to be made. Carlyle says that culture is the process by which a man becomes all that he is capable of being, so it is my purpose in this short paper to present a small summary of the culture in Illinois in Lincoln's day, that we may come to a greater appreciation of the man, Abraham Lincoln. To appreciate the attainments of the people of his day, we shall note the frontier towns of the thirties, and the kinds of people there; we shall go into their homes to watch them at their work and at their play; we shall learn their religious and scholastic struggles, their agricultural efforts, their industries, their methods of transportation, and we shall try to understand their hopes in developing the State of Illinois.

The Lincoln family came into Illinois from Indiana in 1830 and made their way northward into Macon County, where they settled on a bluff of the Sangamon River, about eight miles west of Decatur. During the next thirty years, Abraham Lincoln developed from a raw-boned Hoosier youth to the President-Elect of these United States, for which office he left Springfield in 1861. We shall then, for a few moments, watch the panorama of our State during these thirty years. Since all of the middle western country was in a similar state of progress, it will not be an examination of a microscopic section of the United States, but a survey of a section of the American scene known in that day as "The West."

If an aeroplane map of the state had been made in 1831, it would have shown little clusters of the population clinging to the wooded borders and water courses of the State, for the pioneers shunned the open prairies, with the roads, which were merely widened Indian trails, clearly marked along the higher grounds, so that they would be passable at least a part of the year. Although a journey was a serious venture there were a few stage lines in existence, one passing through Springfield, from Kentucky to

Chicago, another from Vincennes to Belleville, a third from St. Louis to Springfield, a fourth from Peoria to Indianapolis, a fifth from Chicago northward into Wisconsin, and a sixth from Galena to Chicago.

The centers of population were Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Shawneetown, Peoria, Galena and Chicago. In 1830 the population of Chicago was variously estimated from 20 to 100 people, although from time to time an influx of people (immigrants bound for the interior) increased the population several fold. Settlers had been attracted to Galena to mine lead ore and this occupation proved so lucrative that many miners came into this region from Missouri and Kentucky. Some members of a French-Swiss colony also migrated here with the result that streets were laid out in Galena as early as 1826 and steamboats began to ply regularly between this village and St. Louis as early as 1827.[1]

Clear-cut etchings have been left to us of the various towns which dotted the State in the waterway areas and it is interesting to glance briefly at these pen pictures. High on a bluff overlooking the Sangamon River lies New Salem, a huddle of log cabins; Springfield, the location of the land office for the district, is an unimpressive county seat with a few hundred inhabitants; Jacksonville, in the words of a contemporary visitor, is "a horribly ugly village, composed of little shops and dwellings, stuck close together in a dirty square, in the middle of which is the ugliest of possible brick court houses with a spire and a weather cock on its top."[2]

Peoria of 1833 boasts twenty-five families, while Urbana has a general store, a lawyer, physician, blacksmith and a wagon maker among its settlers.[3] Belleville has a population of eight hundred, a court house, jail, postoffice, two inns, a flour mill, four doctors, a few lawyers and a newspaper. Over on the eastern boundary of the State and near the center of this line, an important fur post had been established at Danville by Gurdon Hubbard. By 1833 this settlement consisted of eighty-one houses, a land office, jail, saw and grist mill, several clergymen, lawyers and physicians.[4] It was also traversed by the old Fort Clark Road, a thoroughfare

[1] A. L. Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years,* Galena, 1899, pp. 6-7.
[2] W. C. Bryant, *Prose Writings,* II, pp. 11-14.
[3] J. M. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois, 1837,* p. 270.
[4] M. M. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways Old and New,* Chicago, 1923, p. 60.

for drovers, and during the summer of 1832, over 5,000 cattle were driven through this village on their way northward.

Five classes of people made up the State of this pioneer day. There was the roving hunter who came alone from Kentucky or Tennessee to conquer the wilderness; the squatter, who hoped to obtain a piece of ground by squatting upon the land long enough to obtain a title to it; the farmer, the honest yeoman who was seeking a permanent home and was to form the backbone of his community; the merchant trader, who settled in the towns; and the young man of gentility of birth, good social position and education, who came gaily into the West seeking fame and fortune, and whose name was written into the important annals of the State. All of these elements formed a true democracy, for they rubbed elbows and swapped jokes daily in the little frontier towns.[5]

It is not hard to imagine that the burden of living was not easy for these pioneer folk, since they had to produce all of their food and clothing. There were no markets of any kind and the bulk of the people existed during the long winters on corn bread and flitch, the salt portion of the hog, liberally sprinkled with salt in the smokehouse. The women spent their time in cooking, candle-making, soap-making and spinning and weaving cloth for their families, while the men endeavored to turn the tough prairie sod with wooden plows, cleared small areas of timber and hunted for game for food.

Now and then a pioneer infare, an apple paring, a quilting bee, or a carpet tacking party broke the monotony of soap and candle-making for the women. An infare was a reception for the bridal pair, given at the home of the groom's father, the day after the marriage ceremony had taken place. Here the company played many merry games, chief of which was the famous western custom of riding for the bride's bottle. Amusements for the men were more varied. The cruder, rougher element of the frontier gathered at the villages on Saturday afternoons and engaged in shooting matches, goose pullings, horse races and fist fights. Every man who could split a bullet on his knife blade or take the rag off the bush came to try his luck in the shooting matches. The prizes were hogs, turkeys, venison or half a barrel of whisky. Each man prepared his own target and was allowed three shots. The man

[5] T. C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois*, Chicago, 1925, p. 120.

showing the shortest length won the prize, and on an average it required fifteen minutes for firing. In damp weather the powder in the pan would become a little damp and the gun would make a "long fire," so the old hunters became adept at holding their guns very steady, prepared for the long fire. The more serious group of men engaged in house-raisings, log-rollings, wood-choppings and hog-killings. From fifteen to thirty days of log-rolling was the lot of every able-bodied man during the spring season. With great effort, the logs were rolled into great heaps and then burned.

Dancing was enjoyed by both sexes and forfeit plays were a never-ending source of delight to both young and old. The singing and dramatizing of songs was a never-failing method of entertainment. The romantic and personal element in these songs added zest and gained participators from the group and went along in somewhat the following fashion:

Down on this carpet you must kneel
And kiss your true love in the field
Kiss her now and kiss her then
And kiss her when you meet again.

Corn huskings were held in large barns. Each man chose a lady and when the lady found a red ear among the corn she was entitled to a kiss from every gentleman present. When the corn was husked, supper was served, after which the old folks went home and the young people played games or danced.

Soon after Abraham Lincoln came into Illinois, the State began to emerge from its pioneer chrysalis. Immigrants began streaming into the country in every conceivable fashion, by boat, on foot, in wagons and on horseback, not by twos and threes, but by colonies, such as the Tazewell colony, the Rock River and the New York colony. At Alton and St. Louis, the little steamboats were filled with immigrants, attracted to the West for divers reasons. The great mass of them were drawn by the illusive, glimmering rainbow of success, but some of them were moving in large religious groups which sought new dwelling places where they could establish their religious convictions, while others were magnetized by the lucrative lead mines around Galena and still others were seeking farms from the newly established land offices.

With such an influx of people, men began to dream of better methods of transportation and communication, and wild dreams and wilder schemes beset the minds of men until they found expression in the Illinois legislature. These schemes provided a program of rendering navigable, at least for certain seasons of the year, such rivers and creeks as the Wabash, Illinois, Sangamon, Kaskaskia and the Rock. Other dreamers had ambition to see the State crossed by a network of railroads. As a result of their agitation the legislature, in 1837, adopted the Internal Improvement System, a grandiose scheme of railroad construction, river and road improvement. Under the law, construction on each road started at the same time, the work progressing from either end simultaneously. Thus, when the panic of 1837 forced the abandonment of the system, nothing had been completed, although enough progress had been made on the railroad from Meredosia to Springfield to make its completion possible by 1842. This railroad, the partial completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and a mountain of debt, was all that remained of the Internal Improvement System.

The idea of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was not a new one, for the early French explorers had seen that the physiographic character of the region of the Chicago portage, rendered that the most feasible place for a canal uniting the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River systems. In 1818 Governor Bond had suggested the construction of such a canal. After several attempts, federal aid was received by the State, when Congress placed at the disposal of the Illinois legislature, in 1827, each alternate section of land five miles in width on each side of the projected canal.[6] Not until 1836, however, was work commenced, and twelve years were to elapse before the canal was finished and opened to traffic.

It has been estimated that during the years 1835-6-7, more than five hundred new towns were laid out in Illinois, each company believing that its town, was, in the near future, to become a metropolis the center of a thriving, wealthy community. During the year 1836, in Will County alone, nine towns were laid out and Will County was typical of much of the State. The lots in these paper towns were advertised in eastern cities, and many lots, which today are the sites of farms, brought fancy prices.[7]

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[6] *Chicago Historical Society Collections*, vol. 10, pp. 10-12.
[7] W. E. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois*, 1830-1850, p. 564.

By 1836 real estate speculation and exchange had become the chief occupation in Chicago and everyone seemed to be suffering from the same malady, a sort of "town lot" fever. Values in land had flown skyward. In 1830 an acre of land near South Water Street had sold for $1.55, while four years later, lots in the same area were selling for $3,500 each, an increase in value almost impossible to imagine. Prices of farm produce too, savored of the general boom times, for pork was selling from $20 to $30 per barrel, and oats and potatoes at 75 cents the bushel. With inflation at its height, the Illinois legislature incorporated the city of Chicago, March 4, 1837.

The great rank and file of the State's population were skimming gaily along the crest of a wave of gigantic prosperity, with never a thought of how they would return to the shore, with the inevitable returning tide. This generation of a century ago was no more foolish than other generations of Americans have been even down to our own time. By 1840, however, it was evident to the most optimistic persons that the State could not carry out its plans, and the next year it was admitted that it could no longer pay the interest on its bonds, so the whole bubble burst, with the entire system crashing down to earth. Fortunately for the State, Thomas Ford, a man who had been hand in glove with poverty all of his life, was elected Governor in 1842. His idea of saving the State was to make it help itself. The settling and winding up of the affairs of the State banks and an agreement by which the State's creditors advanced funds for the completion of the Illinois-Michigan Canal, on a pledge of its lands and tolls, was the solution finally adopted and adhered to.

The population now began to assume a more permanent trend and the people became more interested in those institutions which make for progress. There was a tremendous religious development during these thirty years, a progress from the lonely circuit riding missionary of the thirties to the highly organized church system of 1860. Most of the early religious activity was missionary in character. Such societies as the Western Foreign Missionary, with headquarters at Pittsburgh, supported brave fearless men, who really wanted to come out to the prairies to work in the mission fields. Among the names which are emblazoned on this bright shield of missionary endeavor are B. F. Spillman, who spent six

years traveling through Illinois, covering 3,680 miles on horseback and preparing 659 sermons in his saddle; Elbridge Gerry Howe; Aratus Kent, a member of the "Yale Band"; Theron Baldwin, Albert Hale, Jesse Walker and Peter Cartwright.

The common method of propagating the faith of these Protestants was the revival. Since church buildings were few and scattered, camp meetings became necessary institutions. The preachers of these meetings were doughty old warriors, for life on the frontier was not conducive to formal religion. They preached a doctrine which these hardy people could understand, and they could hold a sinner over the pit of fire and brimstone until he could see himself hanging by a slender thread, and surrendered to accept the gospel which was offered him. There were many people, however, who opposed these camp meetings, who felt that they were a form of barbarism which had a close resemblance to the Indian medicine dances.[8]

Among the various Protestant sects, the Congregationalists were by far the most important founders of educational institutions in the State and were aided by the Presbyterians in this undertaking. Congregationalism came to Jacksonville in 1828, when John Millot Ellis selected a site for the future Illinois College.[9] Other institutions of learning which owe their existence to this untiring sect are Knox College, Whipple and Princeton.

The Baptists had six associations in Illinois as early as 1831, but they were hampered by dissension in their own organization. Their most permanent work for Illinois was done by John M. Peck and his followers, who founded Rock Spring Seminary. In 1835 this seminary became Shurtleff College. By 1840 there were 12,000 Baptists in the State.

The Methodists seem to have evolved the best system for inculcating the frontier with religion as they had the largest number of adherents and the honor of establishing one of the first colleges west of the Allegheny Mountains at Lebanon, which became McKendree College in 1834. In 1860 they could point with pride to 881 churches and 100,000 members.[10]

The Christians spread rapidly in the southern and central parts of the State and since this sect was inherently western in

[8] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 1, p. 431.
[9] *Journal of Illinois Historical Society*, vol. 27, p. 441.
[10] T. C. Pease, *Centennial History of Illinois*, vol. 3, pp. 250.

its appeal, it numbered 10,000 communicants by 1860. The Presbyterians were very rigid in doctrine and polity but by 1848 they had eleven Presbyteries and two Synods in the State.

The Lutherans were stimulated by the influx of Swedish and German immigrants after 1848 and the Augustana Synod was established at Rock Island in 1860. The Episcopalian sect was not of such a nature to fare well in pioneer communities, but by 1845 it had five hundred members.

The Catholics had been the first in Illinois with the coming of the French Jesuit priests, and both Cahokia and Kaskaskia had long been served by faithful missionary priests. There were two Dioceses in the State by 1853.

Even with so great a growth of church buildings and members of the religious sects, there were still many communities in 1860 which were without places of worship, since most of the churches were located in cities. The preparation of leaders did not keep pace with church growth, but led to the founding of the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1854 and the McCormick Seminary in 1859.

Parallel to and certainly as great as the religious development was the growth of the school system of the State during these thirty years. From the log cabin subscription school of the early thirties to the organized school system of the sixties was indeed a march of triumph. In 1833 the legislature passed an act providing for the payment of a school fund to teachers and there were several private boarding schools established, but for the greater part, schools were promoted by local or religious effort. A perusal of the newspapers of the forties shows that sentiment was growing for the establishment of a free school system and we read of school conventions at Peoria in 1844, Jacksonville in 1845 and Springfield in 1848. A school convention in Galena went so far as to pass a resolution recommending the classification of studies for a free school and a gradation of such schools into Primary, Grammar and High School departments.

The foundations of our present school system were laid between 1850-1860. In 1854 Ninian W. Edwards was appointed to the newly created office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Under the regime of William H. Powell in this office, 1857-1858, 3,000 school houses were built and nearly 200 districts were organized.

The kind of teacher who predominated during these years is of interest. During the first fifteen years, the teacher type falls into two classes, the religious instructors generally from New England, who had received a fair education and who gave themselves whole-heartedly to the upbringing of boys and girls, and the ignorant strapping bullies who were strong enough to keep the young rowdies of the settlements in a state of subdued sulkiness. Beckwith in his *History* of *Vermilion County* gives a vivid description of this type of schoolmaster.

> . . . Whenever a tall, gaunt, undernourished gentleman in an ancient frock coat and multitudinously patched breeches, with all of his worldly effects tied in a handkerchief on the end of a stick, lounged into the streets of a town, then all of the boys immediately bolted for parts unknown, as the said individual was no other than the itinerant school master in search of a new location.

After 1845 there was a valuable importation into the State of refined, comely, young eastern women who came out to teach in the far West. In commenting on this immigration the *Illinois State Register* said that thirty-four young women came into the State in 1847-8 to teach and that they were excellent teachers, but that the young men of the community were so impressed with their ability they set about to convince them it would be much more pleasant to teach children of their own, with the result that the thirty-four schools which had employed these charming young ladies were hard put to find teachers to take their places.

Due to the New England atmosphere of most of the college circles, and the idealism of their faculties, the colleges became in the last decade of this survey, hot beds of anti-slavery feeling.

In the years with which this paper is concerned, a striking development took place in agriculture. The pioneer farmer settled on a strip of timber country if possible. He needed to be near the woods since it was the source of his building and fuel supply; furthermore wherever there was a forest, water would be found in streams, which was important, for it was difficult to obtain water by the digging methods of the early days. His wooden mold board plow could do little with the tough prairie sod, and the prairies offered no protection from the terrifying storms of spring.

With every newcomer settling upon a timber claim, by 1840 most of the best forest land had been taken up and it was necessary for the immigrant farmers to Illinois to settle upon the oak openings and the larger prairies which were near the timber. So great was the influx of farmers to the State that five years later, the prairies were being developed very rapidly.

If a man could procure ox teams, it was easier to start farming on the prairies than in the timber country, for there was the freedom from stumps in the cultivation of the land. It required six oxen to break up this tough sod for the first time, but with patience and diligence, a crop of corn and potatoes could be raised the first year, while the second year would reward the farmer with wheat, barley, turnips, oats and castor beans.

Castor beans were raised extensively, for the making of castor oil was a very necessary industry for the prairie farmer. The average crop was from fifteen to twenty bushels to the acre. They were planted in April and ripened towards the end of July. The beans sold very readily for there were bean presses in almost every pioneer town. One bushel of beans afforded about a gallon and a half of castor oil, an important remedy of the early saddle bag physicians.[11]

The Preëmption Law of 1841 enabled a man to get a considerable area of land on credit and aided the agricultural development of the State. Wheat production increased to such an extent that Illinois jumped from fifth among the northern states in 1840 to first place by 1860. Fruit growing was not practiced to any extent in the State until 1850, but during the next ten years, apples, peaches and melons were being shipped out of the State in large quantities. Grape culture flourished in the German districts, especially around Alton and Belleville.

Stock raising was haphazard and indifferent until the farmer came to realize that the prairies were very favorable for hog-raising. Hogs were allowed to run at large through the plains, with the result that they multiplied so rapidly, it was difficult to know to whom great numbers of pigs belonged. Hogs wallowing in mud holes about the court houses was a common sight. But hogs, however disgusting they might be, were the chief means of making corn marketable, so great numbers of them were raised in the State.

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[11] Wm. Oliver, *Eight Months in Illinois*, p. 92.

Soon a pork packing industry developed in St. Louis, Cairo, Chicago and other towns. The *Illinois State Register* for December 12, 1850, stated that Beardstown, the Porkopolis of Illinois, packed 40,000 hogs that year, and the *Chicago Tribune* in March, 1851, said that 22,036 hogs were slaughtered and packed in Chicago during the past winter, which was 6,000 more than the preceding year.

This great agricultural development helped to develop the State industrially, for Cyrus McCormick chose Chicago as the ideal location for the manufacture of his reaper as did other reaper manufacturers, and Peter Schuttler started to make wagons there in 1843. Three elements of the earth also were important in the rise of industry. They were lead, coal and the salines. These industries have been richly described in previous papers, so we shall not take time to describe them here.

Due to the large immigration of Germans into Illinois, the brewing industry became important in the State. The first brewery was established in Chicago about 1833 by William Lill, with whom was associated William Haas. In September, 1839, William B. Ogden established Mr. Lill in business at the corner of Pine Street and Chicago Avenue. The plant was installed in a small tenement building and the first year's brew was about 450 barrels. James Carney was the second brewer in Chicago, establishing a small brewery on South Water Street in 1840.[12]

Frank Reisch established a brewery in 1849 at Springfield, with a 200 annual barrel capacity. His lager cellar was about twenty-four feet long and eighteen feet wide, built under a hill and arched with stone. He made his own mash tubs and casks. His original brewery was a building twenty by twenty-four feet, three stories above the arched cellar, and a small one-story addition to the main structure was used as a brew house. In 1854 the brewing plant was enlarged, but the town having passed an anti-license ordinance, he decided to lease the brewery until the agitation should cease, which he did from 1854 to 1857.[13]

Other breweries were to be found in Peru, Naperville, Belleville, Freeport, Quincy and Kankakee during this period and by 1860 there were twenty-two in operation in Chicago.[14]

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[12] *One Hundred Years of Brewing* (a supplement to the *Western Brewer*, 1903). Chicago and New York, 1903, p. 202.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 239.
[14] *Ibid*, p. 310.

We have seen how the people of the thirties attempted to improve transportation in the State, and we have noted that only one short railroad was completed. The two enterprises which contributed the most to better transportation were the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which has been discussed, and the Illinois Central Railroad. "The coming of this railway revolutionized life on the prairies." Illinois Central Railroad was incorporated January 16, 1836.[15] Unfortunately this road was without financial backing and was only an evidence of popular interest, but it was again incorporated in 1851 and construction was soon begun. On June 1, 1856, this road instituted a commuter train and three trains were placed on the line between Chicago and Hyde Park. Under the Internal Improvement Act also, the Great Western Railroad was incorporated March 6, 1843, but because of lack of funds, the connection across the State *via* this road was not completed until 1858. The Central Military Tract Railway was built in 1854 and consolidated with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1856. There were only 270 miles of railway in the State in 1850, but by the end of the decade, there were 2,900 miles in use.

A contemporary account shows that the traveling public, as a whole, thought it was well served, for the *Chicago Daily Journal* of May 26, 1852, said:

> We do not remember to have seen our public thoroughfares more thronged than now. The facilities for traveling keep pace with its increase. Two trains now leave daily over the Michigan Central railroad from Chicago connecting at Detroit with the steamers *Ocean* and the *Atlantic*.

The passenger trains made good time, thirty miles an hour being the common speed. The Chicago and Alton trains averaged twenty-one miles an hour and rarely varied ten minutes in their schedule. A traveler who was accustomed to a ride of three days and nights from Chicago to Springfield in Frink and Walker's stages, made the trip by rail in twelve hours.

If time permitted, we should like to stop at one of the many taverns which dotted the new plank roads, and perhaps go up to Springfield for the social season. We should also like to attend a political rally and a court session, especially when Judge David Davis was sitting on the bench, and read a few of the newspapers

[15] *Publications of Illinois State Historical Library* No. 13, p. 171.

scattered about the court room. At another time, we may glance at leisure pursuits of the people and their militant attempts at reform, or study the health conditions of the communities of this era.

Now this Illinois of 1830, a typically frontier State, mired deep in its prairie mud, has developed by 1860 into the fourth state of the entire Union, outstripping in a single decade the states of Indiana, Virginia, Massachusetts, Georgia and Tennessee. Her already famous city by the lake, increased in a decade almost four hundred per cent from a little city of 29,000 to a metropolis of 106,000.

The school buildings which dot the landscape of 1860 are tangible evidence of the democratic school system, firmly implanted, while the churches show the religious growth which has penetrated to every part of the State. In agriculture, the reaper, the mower and the fanning mill have replaced the scythe and the flail; health conditions are slowly improving and the basis of modern medical and dental organizations and methods are already laid.

Thus the curtain falls upon the background of Abraham Lincoln's life in the State of Illinois; but as it falls, there seems to emerge from the folds young Abraham Lincoln, a rustic backwoods youth. As his figure becomes outlined in front of the voluminous folds of the curtain, it changes; he grasps every opportunity from that background that it offered; he parallels the development of his adopted state, until at last he stands before us, the Lincoln of 1861, calm, poised, fearless and majestic, ready for the years which are to make him immortal, just as his State of Illinois has unfolded even until now.

PART III

Contribution to State History

1935

NEWTON BATEMAN

State Superintendent of Public Instruction and President of Knox College

By William Edward Simonds

Newton Bateman was born at Fairton in Cumberland County, New Jersey, July 27, 1822. His parents, Bergen and Ruth (Brown) Bateman, were of Scotch and English ancestry. Newton was the youngest of five children.

The family was in poor circumstances. The father, a weaver by trade, was so crippled with rheumatism as to be almost an invalid. The real dynamo of the family was the mother and it was her initiative and her hope to find in the western country better opportunities for the growth and education of her children that led to the long overland journey to Illinois in 1833. It was a journey under the difficult conditions of pioneer travel. Two families, the Batemans and the Piersons, their vehicle the covered wagon typical of such migrations, set forth in early summer. Just before reaching their destination, almost upon the threshold of a new home, sudden calamity overtook them. The scourge of Asiatic cholera had worked its deadly way through England into Canada in 1832, then across the border into the state of New York; in 1833 it pursued its relentless course following the lines of commerce along the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Illinois. Within twenty miles of Jacksonville Mrs. Bateman was attacked by the disease and died. Burial was immediate—performed by the stricken pilgrims themselves—and the natives, in terror of contagion, obliterated all signs of the grave. The tragedy was pathetically recalled with further details by Doctor Bateman himself in an address[1] in which he described the melancholy entrance of the party into Jacksonville, in the afternoon of July 1, 1833:

> We came in from the west, and down State Street to the western edge of the public square and there halted—one wagon and fourteen souls—the most of us on foot, of course. We had left our native state numbering fifteen, in two families, one of seven, the other of eight, parents and

[1] Delivered at the Woman's College in Jacksonville, June 3, 1884.

children. But the awful shadow of pestilence had fallen upon the land; three days before I had seen them lay my mother in a lonely grave on the shores of the Illinois, but never again was I to know the hallowed spot, though in after years I sought it diligently and with tears. And so we were fourteen. In a few days more we were but twelve. The same pitiless reaper had cut down two daughters of the other family in the rare beauty and promise of their youth.

Within a month after their arrival Newton had passed his eleventh birthday and was manfully bearing his part in the effort of the family to make a living, working as an errand boy in the family of an eminent jurist. The opportunities for him to secure the education which had been the cherished ambition of his mother's heart seemed hopelessly limited. The boy's own ambition, however, was effectively quickened two years later when in 1835 he attended the commencement exercises of Illinois College, then at the very beginning of its history—the oldest in the group of Illinois colleges which have had such notable influence in the education and training of the youth of the Middle West. Deeply impressed by the scene and by the addresses of the graduates, young Bateman, then thirteen years old, determined that he would go to college and, when the time should come, that he, too, would deliver a graduating oration from that platform. Fulfillment of that dream seemed far in the future but it was not forgotten. It was four years later before he was able to enter upon a course of serious preparation and was enrolled in the academy.[2] The discouragement of his situation, the cramp of poverty never daunted him. The most rigid economy, the most arduous labor were cheerfully endured.

While fitting for college, he studied in the woods in warm weather, but when the cool season came on a huge elm tree which stood near his home was selected. It was hollow. He cut a hole in one side for a door, cleared it out and furnished it with a rough stool and table and a piece of carpet. In this novel domicile warmed by a fire in front of the door, the master pursued his studies for months. When he entered on his freshman year (in college) his cash capital amounted to two dollars and fifty cents. He

[2] In the phraseology of that day Mr. Bateman gave Newton "his time"—that is, his freedom for the remainder of his minority, a period during which a father was legally entitled to his son's labor.

supported himself unaided through his college course; his boarding expenses during the sophomore year averaged only eleven cents per week and through the whole four years averaged only forty-five cents per week.[3]

The young student finished his sophomore year, as he tells us,[4] with all bills paid and free from debt, and without the loss of a recitation, passed all his examinations and was admitted to full junior standing. He had worked on a farm at fifteen dollars a month and earned forty-five dollars. The summer following the junior year he was in St. Louis clerking in a drug-store where he was paid twenty-eight dollars a month. "A wondrous bit of good fortune" awaited him on his return to college: he received an appointment as instructor of two classes in the preparatory department; one in Latin and one in elementary algebra. Although, as he says, the pay was not so large as to imperil his habits of economy or justify the assumption of very much grandeur in his style of living, it was nevertheless more than he had been able to earn before and, with the manual labor which he continued to perform, rendered his senior year comparatively easy and comfortable financially.

Illinois College, still in its pioneer years, then had five professors and forty students. Its president was Dr. Edward Beecher, son of Lyman Beecher. A younger son of this famous family, Thomas K. Beecher, was a member of Bateman's class. Another classmate, Samuel Willard, later a distinguished surgeon in service during the Civil War and afterward prominent as a school administrator and an editor, said of Newton Bateman:

> Of all the class he had the greatest sense of humor. . . . enjoyed the verses of Edwin Lear, or 'Alice in Wonderland,' often produced comic verses. His fun was spontaneous, bubbling out of a joyous heart; his laughs were the healthiest; he rejoiced in existence.

Even more revealing are the words of Dr. Thomas K. Beecher:

> Looking at his subsequent life I see that this exuberance of the comic was a relief to his super-sensitive nature and

[3] Biographical sketch in Chapman's *History of Knox County* (1878)—obviously based upon the direct statement of Dr. Bateman himself.

[4] Among the chapel talks given by Dr. Bateman to his Knox students are several which vividly and vivaciously portray the difficulties met in securing an education and how he overcame them.

> lightened many a load which those of sterner mold would have carried with clenched teeth and knitted brow.[5]

On the twentieth of June, 1843, came the commencement day when, one of the ten graduates, young Bateman delivered his oration and the determination formed on that earlier occasion eight years before was achieved.

When Newton Bateman attained his college degree he had already decided to enter the Christian ministry and, in furtherance of that design, to begin his theological course in Lane Seminary. His feelings at this time may be best expressed in his own words, as recorded in a chapel talk at Knox College entitled, *An Unsentimental Journey:*

> That incomparable preacher and teacher, that veritable Christian "Son of Thunder," Dr. Lyman Beecher, was then President of the institution, and his son-in-law, Dr. Calvin E. Stowe, husband of the author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' himself a man of sturdy and trenchant intellectual power and then the foremost Hebrew and Biblical scholar in the land, was one of the Faculty, the other members of which were fit associates for that couple of giants. I greatly desired to sit at the feet of these remarkable men, feel the tonic power of their intellectual strength and catch the inspiration of their Christly spirit and consecrated lives . . . But money must be earned before the privileges of Lane could be enjoyed, and the solution of that problem was the business first in hand.

In the solution of that problem this indomitable young man, just turned twenty-one, took to the open road. He had a desire, he said, to see a little of the great world and enjoy a little relaxation after the five years' struggle to prepare for and go through college, wholly dependent upon his own resources. Moreover, he had received an invitation from the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, then settled in Indianapolis, to be his guest for a few days and there to meet his college classmate, Thomas K. Beecher, and other members of the Beecher family. His amazing adventures as a peddler, how he succeeded in his quest for funds, and details of his visit in the family circle at Indianapolis, are related in the story of *An Unsentimental Journey* with the zest and humor that always characterize Doctor Bateman's personal narratives.

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[5] Both quotations are taken from a Memorial Address by Dr. Samuel Willard, at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, Springfield, Ill., 1897.

Entering the Seminary that fall, Bateman completed only one year of the theological course; but the influences brought to bear upon him during that brief period were indelibly stamped upon his character. This early association with the Beechers is not without significance. Dr. Lyman Beecher, the father of this famous family, and widely recognized as the foremost champion of orthodoxy in New England against the leaders in the Unitarian movement, was called from his pastorate in Boston to the presidency of Lane Seminary in 1832, and remained at the head of that institution for twenty years. Lyman Beecher was indeed a champion of orthodoxy but at the same time was recognized as one of the "moderate Calvinistic" group; in fact he was once tried for "heresy" through the agency of the extremists in the denomination. In the ripened, mellow spirit of the benign Newton Bateman it is not difficult to trace something of the personal influence and inspiration of this great Christian leader of an earlier day.

The end of the first year in the Seminary found Bateman in poor physical condition. Without doubt the strenuous struggle with poverty, the unremitting strain both physical and mental of the past five years had had their effect upon the student's health. A rather acute throat trouble had developed—and the ever-recurring problem of financial stress still had to be faced. He decided to stay out for a year and teach. First, however, he accepted a traveling agency with the publishers of Lyman's *Historical Charts* and traveled extensively in several of the Eastern states, coming in contact with schools and teachers, forming acquaintances that were afterward valuable, and noting deficiencies in educational methods.

Among the experiences that befell the traveler in the course of his journeying—at the very outset in fact—was one so notable that it deserves a place in the record. It was Bateman's privilege to be present at an event of historic importance—the sending of the first message by the electric telegraph between Washington and Baltimore by Professor Morse. This impressive occurrence took place May 24, 1844; the scene was the United States Supreme Court room in the Capitol. Young Bateman was then in Washington and through a friend received an invitation to be present. (This "friend," not named by Doctor Bateman, was probably Prof. John Coffin, one of the staff of astronomers in the United

States Observatory at Washington, a brother-in-law of Thomas K. Beecher and a guest in the Beecher household in Indianapolis during Bateman's visit in the previous year.) Years later, in a chapel talk on "The Gift of Mechanical Invention," Doctor Bateman recalled the event.

> In the room a few gentlemen were gathered, three or four confident and jubilant, hoping and doubting, anxious, nervous, timid; evidently ready, some of them, with the cheap, oracular "I told you so," should the experiment fail. Outside, a noisy, laughing, joking, lampooning, utterly incredulous crowd, waiting for the confidently expected collapse. . . . The prearranged moment arrived, the circuit of the batteries was established; the message, "What hath God wrought"—the first ever transmitted—went throbbing along the out-going wire . . . to Baltimore. Breathlessly we waited. In sixty seconds the little cylinder began to revolve and, throbbing back according to agreement, came the same message; slowly the ribbon-like strip of white paper unrolled from the cylinder indented with the minute dots and lines which constitute the telegraphic alphabet. The throbbing ceased, the instrument was still; the indented strip was cut from the roll and examined. The message was perfect, every letter distinct and clear. "What hath God wrought" had pulsed away, like spirit heart-beats, to Baltimore and almost immediately the response came back to Washington: "What hath God wrought. . . ."
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> Of the first ten messages sent from Washington to Baltimore that memorable day, it was my privilege to send one; and the time-faded slip of paper on which the answer was recorded is still among my cherished souvenirs of that birthday of telegraphy.

In 1845 Bateman himself opened a private school in St. Louis. Entering the educational field, as he supposed, temporarily, the grip of a real vocation seized him—a call *to teach*; and in teaching, Newton Bateman found his life-work. In 1847 he was made professor of mathematics in St. Charles College, Missouri, and held this position for the next four years. His marriage to Miss Sarah Dayton, of Jacksonville, Illinois, occurred in 1850. In 1851 he was elected principal of the Jacksonville public schools and the Batemans returned to the Illinois town, the center of early associations, the scene of his college life; awakening memories of stern experience, difficulties courageously and cheerfully encountered along the hard road that led to the goal of his ambition, and final

success. Here he established his home and here for seven years he faithfully served an appreciative community—for which, ever after, he cherished a loyal, tender regard.

During this period of residence in Jacksonville Mr. Bateman's interest in the work of the teacher became more and more vital. Three years after his appointment as principal of the school established in the west district, he was made school commissioner of Morgan County. But his influence was yet more widely felt. He was active in the organization of the State Teachers' Association,[6] which held its first annual meeting at Peoria, December 26-28, 1854, and was made its vice-president for the following year. He was one of a committee of four which arranged for the publication of the *Illinois Teacher* and one of its editors. At the second meeting of the Association, at Springfield, in 1855, he worked heartily with others in the movement to establish a state normal school.[7] That Mr. Bateman had already attained high standing in the estimation of those who had the interests of the free schools at heart, is evident in the action taken at that convention. Fifty years later, William N. Steele, in his inaugural address as president of the State Teachers' Association, said:

> The two men who did the most to mould the educational policy of the State came to the front at this meeting (that of 1855)—Newton Bateman, the Horace Mann of the West, and Charles E. Hovey, the founder of our normal schools. They were both young men, about thirty years old. The former was principal of the West Side Union School in Jacksonville, and the latter the principal of the public schools in Peoria. The convention recognized the ability of both. It elected Hovey president of the Association and editor of the *Illinois Teacher,* and Bateman the State Agent and its first choice for State Superintendent, an honor that has been conferred upon no other man.

In explanation of this last statement something further should be said. Under the new school law enacted by the legislature in that same year, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction was to be chosen by the people at the general election, for a term of two years. Within a few months candidates would be nominated for the election of 1856, and in the effort to eliminate the political

[6] First called the State Teachers' Institute; the name was soon changed to its present form.

[7] The State Normal School opened its doors at Normal in 1857 and graduated its first class in June, 1860.

feature in the selection of a man who should be unacceptable to the school people, the Association determined to express its preference for first and second choice of a candidate for the office. Four names were brought before the convention. On a final ballot Mr. Bateman received the highest number of votes, but Mr. W. H. Powell, President of the Association, who stood second in the number of votes cast, received the nomination eventually and was elected State Superintendent in the following year, succeeding the first State Superintendent, Ninian W. Edwards, who had been appointed by the Governor, following the enactment of the school law in 1855, to serve until the general election in 1856.

In 1858, however, Mr. Bateman was, contrary to his own wish, made the Republican candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and elected to that office in November. The circumstances that attended this event and the effect of the bereavement that had fallen upon his stricken home in the year preceding, are best described in the words of his classmate and life-long friend, Dr. Samuel Willard:

> He did not wish the nomination because of his friendship for his predecessor, Mr. W. H. Powell, and because he had just accepted the principalship of the Jacksonville Female Academy, so that he felt that it would be unfair with trustees and teachers, if he should seek the office. Emphatically, the office sought the man. I was his confidant in this matter and speak with full knowledge. Another reason was that on May 16, 1857, death had suddenly taken from his arms his dearly beloved wife, mother of his only son and of a daughter. All his ambition fled away; and despite the native elasticity of his spirit, this stroke wounded him so deeply that I saw no ripple of a smile upon his face for a year.[8]

STATE SUPERINTENDENT: 1859-1874

Newton Bateman was the third State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois; he entered upon the duties of that office in January, 1859, and with the exception of one term (his party was defeated in 1862, but two years later he was re-elected) filled the office for sixteen years, until his retirement to accept the presidency of Knox College.

[8] From the Memorial address by Dr. Willard, before the State Teachers Association, Springfield, December 28, 1897. It is included in the 22nd Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Thus began the second epoch in Bateman's career. In January, 1859, he was midway in his thirty-seventh year. Whatever his earlier feelings may have been, he was now happily installed in his new office—an office which previous experience had eminently qualified him to fill and which summoned him to a task that inspired him. Wisely, he again married—the lady was Miss Annie N. Tyler, a teacher in the Jacksonville Female Academy—and once more his home knew the comfort of domestic happiness. That the immediate future was destined to be colored by momentous events and experiments of impressive significance to himself, he was unaware. Yet hardly had he assumed his new responsibilities when the atmosphere became ominous with forebodings of the coming storm. By the end of his first year in office there was much besides the routine of his official duties to exercise the mind and heart of Newton Bateman. The duties were never neglected; how and to what effect they were discharged will be considered later, but first his relation to the national crisis and how he responded to it demand our attention. A great personal experience came to him in an association of unusual nature and intimacy with Abraham Lincoln—an association which ever remained one of the sacred memories of his life. We can best understand its character from his own words:

> I first met him in the city of Springfield, Illinois, in 1842; and from that time till his departure from that place for Washington on the eleventh day of February, 1861, I saw much of him in the courtroom, on the hustings, at social gatherings, in the State House, on the streets and elsewhere. But it was not till my removal to Springfield, in 1858, that my personal acquaintance with him can be said to have been close and intimate.
>
> Soon after his first nomination for the Presidency, which occurred on the eighteenth day of June, 1860, finding his modest little house on Eighth Street in Springfield, too small for the throngs of visitors which pressed upon him from all parts of the country, his friends installed him in the executive chamber of the State House, where he continued to hold daily receptions till his departure for Washington the following February.
>
> My office, during the whole of that period of over seven months, . . . was in a room adjoining the one occupied by Mr. Lincoln, and communicating with it by a door which was usually wide open—at Mr. Lincoln's request—to secure for

> both rooms a better ventilation and to afford relief to his often over-crowded chamber; the surplus often overflowing into my office while awaiting their turn to see Mr. Lincoln. And nearly every day he would pass from one room to the other, hand-shaking and chatting with his friends and callers.
>
> It was during these seven months, in which I heard and saw him several hours every day, that I had the best possible opportunity of observing and studying the man in nearly all the phases of his remarkable character.

The record of this "close and intimate" acquaintance is completed in Bateman's famous lecture on Lincoln. It is the tribute of a reverent student of the character as well as the personality of the great president. Amid the lighter incidents of the passing days, the story telling, the dry kindly humor which never once served to cloak a malicious spirit, the friendliness which expressed itself in the formula generally used when introducing Doctor Bateman—"This is my little friend, the big schoolmaster of the State of Illinois"—with all this he specified the *moral goodness* of Lincoln as the dominating quality of the man: "He recognized, as did no other American statesman of this century, the *moral element* in politics."

Mr. Bateman was one of those few intimate friends invited to accompany the President as far as Indianapolis on his journey to the national capital, but could not accept. He stood at Lincoln's side, however, during the impressive speech of farewell, and was, perhaps, the last to clasp his hand as the train left Springfield.

In December of that year the State Superintendent, as required by law, published his first biennial report covering the years 1859-60. It contains but slight reference to the political situation. Its opening paragraph, however, is a declaration of principles so logical, so forceful, that it deserves attention:

> The cardinal principles upon which our system of Public Instruction is based are not new. They belong to that class of self-evident truths which command the assent of all thinking men . . . These principles are: The just moral claim of every child in the Commonwealth to an education commensurate with the importance and dignity of his obligations and duties as an upright and loyal citizen; The corresponding obligation of the State to make adequate provision for such an education for all; The inseparable relation of universal intelligence and probity to the strength and perpetuity of a republican government.

An earnest and eloquent advocate of these principles, with particular emphasis on that final clause, Newton Bateman remained as long as he lived.

When Doctor Bateman's second report, covering the years 1861-62 appeared, the conflict was on; and in the pages of this volume we find impressive expression of the thoughts and feelings engendered by the national crisis.

> The past four years have been most eventful. When I entered this office in January, 1859, we were a united, powerful and prosperous people; as I leave it in January, 1863, we are in the fiery crucible of war and commotion, if not in the throes of national dissolution. It sometimes seems like a horrid dream, from which we shall surely awake to find all as it was—one country, one flag, one destiny. I yet have faith in God, in the patriotism of our people and in the justice of our cause; but whatsoever the future may be, the sacred duties we owe ourselves and our children can not be neglected or deferred. Our solemn obligations in those respects are not diminished, but enhanced by the perils and darkness which environ the nation. If the safeguards of a virtuous education are essential in peace they are still more so amid the downward tendencies incident to a state of war.

In his most notable contribution to this volume, under the heading "The School and the State," Doctor Bateman discussed at greater length the cardinal principles on which the national system of public instruction was based and emphasized anew "the inseparable relation of universal intelligence and probity to the strength and perpetuity of a republican government." It contains numerous passages that, sometimes modified to fit the occasion or the time, sometimes unchanged, recurred years later in chapel talks to Knox students. Here, for example, are paragraphs that largely compose an address—originally to "my fellow teachers"—on "Moral Rectitude, the Foundation of National Prosperity and Honor;" and, practically altered, the chapel address on "Patriotism," including the "Tribute to the Flag."

> To defend the flag is something more than a duty—it is a joy, a coveted privilege akin to that which nerves the arm and directs the blow in defense of home and children. To insult it is worse than infamy—to make war upon it blacker than treason.

So ends the Tribute—repeated on several occasions during the presidency at Knox.

As the war progressed Doctor Bateman's sensitive, sympathetic nature suffered intensely. "He bore the burden of every battle as if his own brother and children were wounded and slain," is the testimony of a friend. Doctor Willard said: "He felt for weeks the agonies of every slaughterous battle." But at last the war was over, and in his third biennial report, December, 1866, it was Victory that inspired his eloquence as he again addressed his readers:

> It is again my privilege to speak to the people of Illinois through their representatives in the General Assembly, upon the great themes of popular education. How changed the scene; how different the circumstances of the country: Treason, at least armed and insurgent treason, is dead. The great slave-empire that was to rise upon the ruins of the republic is itself in ruins, its legions vanquished, its banners in the dust, its hopes perished, its chieftain in prison awaiting the outraged majesty of the law, and, if suffered to live, still doomed to scorn and to the infamy of baffled and defeated treason. The vast armies of the Union have quietly dissolved their organizations, returning their muskets to the arsenals of the government and exchanging the honored 'blue' of the soldier for the garb of the citizen; and a million brave men, who were but yesterday in the tented field, the invincible avengers of the nation, are today engaged in peaceful pursuits, as modest and unassuming as if they had not filled Christendom with wonder and inaugurated the Heroic Age of American History.

Throughout the duration of the Civil War the official duties of the State Superintendent had been regularly and faithfully performed. "The results accomplished within the past four years are not commensurate with cherished hopes and earnest endeavors," he wrote in his second report; but there had been no lapse on his part in devotion or effort. For one term Mr. Bateman was out of office owing to the defeat of his party in 1862, and during that interval he served his country as chief clerk in one department of the United States recruiting service.[9] He was returned to office at the next general election—and there were ten years of public service to follow.

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[9] Under commission as Assistant Provost-Marshal General.

The work accomplished during these years was of fundamental importance in developing the educational resources of the State. The methods adopted and the spirit with which they were applied may be best seen in the testimony of those who were associated professionally and by personal friendship with the State Superintendent at the time. In his monumental work, *The Educational History of Illinois*, Dr. John W. Cook quoted from a letter from "a friend who knew him intimately:"

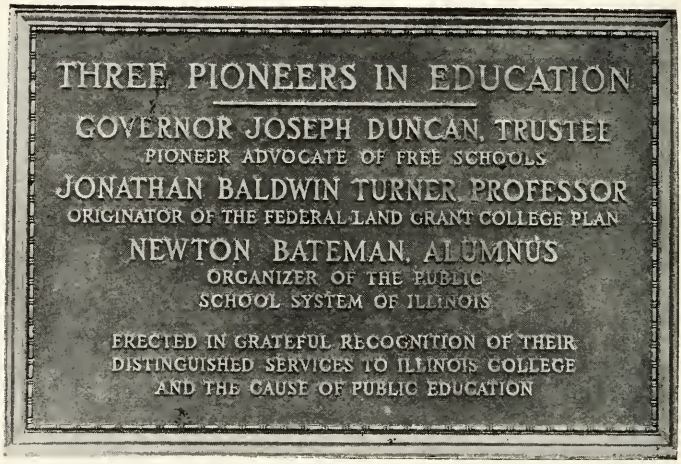
> Newton Bateman came to the office . . . while the office was yet a new one, and it was his lot to shape its work so far as it was not shaped by law. He had the great advantage of enjoying the confidence and good will of the teachers of Illinois, and this he never lost. His work was partly *official,* i. e. what by law falls to the office; but I think his reports and discussions of educational questions, his addresses to the people and teachers, his work with the legislature to secure amendments to the law from time to time and to prevent unwise tampering with it—these held the public confidence and did great good. He had good judgment on questions brought officially before him; he was judicial and judicious. He has been called the Horace Mann of the West; but he was less original than Mann and less a warrior; he had less opposition. His work was a steady judicious pressure upon public opinion, and upon the character and work of teachers to elevate and inspire both. He was no politician; he was able to carry his points in legislation by their considerate reasonableness, and not by urgency or balancing of interests. He felt deeply on all subjects; during the war he bore the burden of every battle as if his own brother and children were wounded and slain. So he carried his sympathy, his feelings, his sense of justice into all his vast correspondence.

Dr. Samuel Willard, classmate and life-long friend, intimately acquainted with the experiences and labors of these years, himself a teacher of high repute later on, paid similar tribute:

> Dr. Bateman's greatest influence . . . was in those eloquent reports which set up ideals and stirred the hearts of those that read them to a new purpose and a new hope. His decisions on the school law, gathered in a volume, made a text-book for school officers; but his appeals to the teachers and to the people were not law, but gospel; the revelation of new and better ways, with encouragement to walk therein; the incitation to a perpetual ascent. Like the angel

in the apocalypse, he was saying, 'Come up hither, and I will show thee.' This influence passed the bounds of Illinois and is still spreading.[10]

For the student of educational history the seven biennial reports of the State Superintendent, published during Newton Bateman's long-extended term of office, are of extraordinary value—indeed indispensable. With the exception of the first, a pamphlet of 132 pages, these reports fill substantial volumes of from four hundred to five hundred pages each. They are all worthy of study.[11] The *official* material, statistical, and technical, is interspersed with Mr. Bateman's more personal contributions to the



ILLINOIS COLLEGE TABLET TO THREE PIONEER EDUCATORS

discussions of educational questions; many of these are carefully prepared essays or addresses, eloquent and stirring appeals to the public and to teachers, as well. All of this material served in the upbuilding of the public school system in Illinois and in the ever-widening reputation of Newton Bateman as one of the foremost educational leaders of the Middle West.[12] It is in these

[10] Memorial address.

[11] A full analysis of these reports is included in Doctor Cook's volume.

[12] In 1864 efforts were made by teachers and others interested in the advancement of education for the establishment of a Bureau of Education. Doctor Bateman was one of three representatives from the National Association of Superintendents who petitioned Congress to this effect and it was he who prepared the bill to be submitted. It was originally created a Department, by Act of Congress, March 2, 1867, but was reduced to a Bureau the following year.

insertions that we feel the personality and character of the Bateman of that period—the man that he then was; in them we find the expression of that spirit that we later knew and loved in the president of Knox College—even the tones of that resonant voice, the eloquent periods, the utterance of sentiments, that were to be heard later from the platform of Knox Chapel.

Typical of these carefully prepared papers thus appearing in the reports are essays upon "The School and the State," "The American Idea of Popular Education," "Mind in the Arts and Industries," "Reading as a Life Force," "Relation of Colleges to Public Schools," "Moral Education," "Latent Forces," and—his final word—the concluding paper in his last report—"The Coming Teacher."

An interesting example of Superintendent Bateman's vigorous method in argument and of the vivacity that characterized his style in composition, is found in a discussion of the work of the State Normal University, included in his first biennial report. From the outset of the movement for the establishment of this institution there had been opposition, but the earnest persistence of its advocates, among whom Bateman had been prominent, had secured the passage by the Legislature in 1857 of the act establishing the school. It was now in operation, yet there was still hostility in some quarters and more or less misunderstanding as to its need. Thus the argument is presented:

> The lack of an adequate supply of competent teachers for our common schools, is the great fact which meets us at every point, and arrests the progress of the cause at every step . . . To meet this demand, as far as possible, the Normal University was established. It had its origin, therefore, in a practical necessity . . . It is difficult to account for the popular misapprehension of so plain a matter as the special professional training of teachers. The argument seems so unanswerable, there is such a profusion of illustrations and analogies on every hand that the effort to defend the claims of training-schools for teachers, seems, at this day, almost like the attempt to re-demonstrate a long-established principle—to question a first truth.

And then the illustrations:

> Did the Central Railroad Company entrust the survey of its lines, the description of their graceful curves, the adjustment of their numerous grades, to a mere novice—did a

carpenter's apprentice throw that splendid bridge across the Illinois at LaSalle? Who poised that miracle of skill and strength and beauty above Niagara's hell of waters? Was the achievement of the suspension bridge a mere lucky hit, a first attempt of the illustrious Roebling, or was it the great fruition of his life, after years of profound study, repeated experiment, and many failures?

A similar illustration is found in the construction of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; and then the paragraph proceeds:

Was a man ever born a sailor—was the quarterdeck ever gained in a day—does the muscle necessary to haul upon the halliards or furl the royals, imply the seamanship necessary to lay the ship on her course and rectify her longitude by an astral or a solar observation? Would you trust your life or your merchandise for a voyage across the Atlantic, to a freshly shipped deck-hand—or to a veteran who had gained the captaincy by having passed through every grade of the service, whose courage had been tried in many a storm, and whose knowledge of nautical astronomy had been proved by bringing his vessel safely to her moorings a hundred times? What accomplished farmer would risk the care of his herds and horses, or the tillage of his broad acres, to one ignorant of stock, unable to distinguish the properties of soils, ignorant of the rules of practical husbandry, incapable it may be, as the Governor of a certain Western State, of distinguishing a field of wheat from a field of oats? Do not all these things require long, patient, progressive instruction, discipline and experience? If you wished the portrait of some illustrious statesman, some cherished benefactor or friend, to speak to you from the living canvas as only the works of genius can, would you give the commission to a house-and-sign painter, a mere pretender to the divine art? Would you have the crude production of inexperience or mediocrity at any price? Does the sculptor *inherit* his skill, is the finished statue among the first fruits of his chisel, or the last?

And, finally:

Is it more difficult to survey the path of a railroad than to map out a life? Is there not a more fearful whirlpool into which the young may plunge, than that which boils beneath the Suspension Bridge—is the moral mechanism which spans the abyss of vice and crime with the solid arch of truth and virtue, less complicated than that required to stretch the iron rail securely across the watery gulf? Is it more difficult to guide the ship across the sea, amid reefs and breakers

and foam-crowned billows, than it is to guide the wayward, ardent nature of a child, on the eventful voyage across the sea of life? Does it require a profounder analysis, a nobler husbandry, to know when and how to drop the seed of corn and wheat into the shower-softened fallows of a literal soil, and rear the waving grain to its maturity of golden beauty, than it does to sow invisible seed in the moral garden of the heart and conscience, and train the plants of knowledge, truth and love to a fruitage of more than earthly beauty and glory? Is the former harvest richer and better than the latter? Did painter or sculptor ever receive such a commission as that entrusted to the teacher? Does he not trace lines upon imperishable tablets—is not his limning upon immortal canvas? Is it not true that his work, be it good or bad, will survive when the stars are fallen and the sun is wrapped in eternal eclipse?

It is true that these are only analogies, illustrations—but truth is sometimes seen through these, more clearly than through direct propositions; just as the existence of a new star or planet is sometimes revealed to the astronomer by oblique rays or sidelights, while his glass is turned upon some adjacent part of the heavens.

Almost this entire passage was quoted by Doctor Cook[13] to illustrate Doctor Bateman's method of arousing in the minds of his readers a favorable consideration of his contentions; and he added:

In the reports of no other Superintendent in the succession, from his time to the present shall we discover its literary parallel. Rather florid and over-abounding in rhetorical figures it must be conceded, but well adapted to secure a reading and to the disarming of opposition. It must be admitted that he was stronger with the pen than in the immediate and personal contact with members of the General Assembly in the committee rooms of the Capitol, where legislative bills have to be hammered into shape and where opponents of a more liberal and efficient school law were to be silenced by the fearless and tireless work of an aggressive protagonist.

The later years of the Superintendency were marked by steady progress in the advancement of the educational interests of the state. Doctor Bateman's ability as educator and administrator received wide recognition and, no less, his winning personality and his noble character as a man. Several offers of college positions

[13] In his *Educational History of Illinois.*

came to him and were declined;[14] but in 1874 he accepted a call to the presidency of Knox College and presented his last report as State Superintendent of Public Instruction at the end of that year. Under his administration of the office he had seen the number of free public schools in the state grow from 9,162 in 1860, to 11,646 in 1874; men teachers from 8,223 to 9,036; women teachers from 6,485 to 12,093; and public school pupils from 472,247 to 671,775.

During the sixteen years of residence in Springfield, also, the family circle of the Batemans had been enlarged by the birth of two daughters, Annie Tyler and Elizabeth. Of the two older children, born in Jacksonville, Clifford, now a youth of nineteen, was a student at Amherst, and Sarah Dayton, a girl of seventeen, was preparing to enter college. When he received the call to the presidency of the college, Newton Bateman was just completing his fifty-second year.

COLLEGE PRESIDENT: 1875-1897

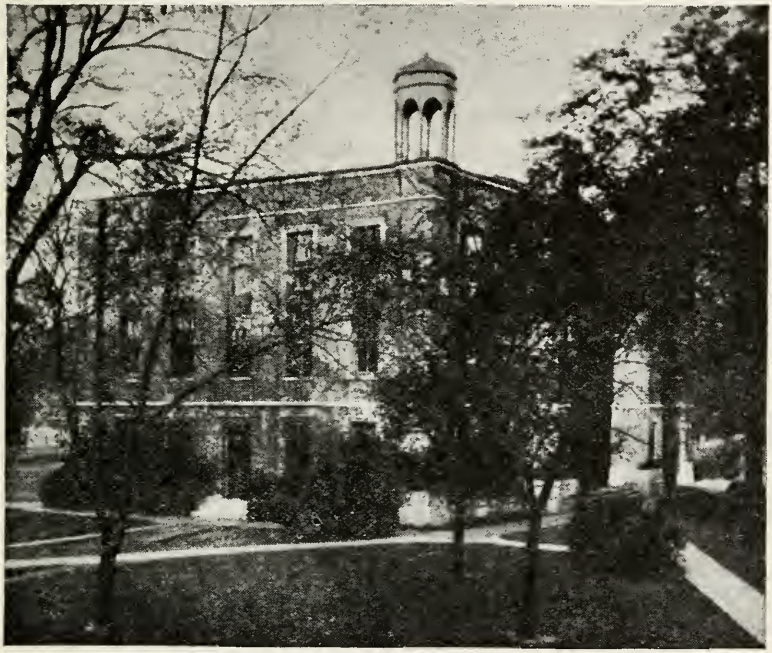
The election of Newton Bateman to the presidency of Knox College was a tribute to the administrative success of the retiring State Superintendent and a recognition of his eminence among the leaders in popular education in Illinois; it was also an indication of the sagacity of the committee[15] in selecting Doctor Bateman as a candidate and the wisdom of the Board in confirming that selection. Certainly no man was more widely known in educational circles and none was held in higher respect by the school men of the state. He possessed the confidence and esteem of the teachers and of the public as well.

It was, moreover, an appointment that not only brought honor to the recipient but offered an opportunity that could not fail to be welcomed. The attractiveness of the position was obvious. Knox College had maintained a high position among the leading educational institutions of the state. Founded in 1837, it was one of the four oldest colleges—all chartered in the same decade. Its history and experience had been similar to that of Illinois College from which in its earlier days young Bateman had been graduated.

[14] "He had twice been tendered the presidency of the University of Iowa and also the chancellorship of two other state universities."—*Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois.*

[15] This committee, appointed by the Board, consisted of five members: W. Selden Gale, Chauncey S. Colton, Judge Charles B. Lawrence, Rev. Flavel Bascom and Judge Alfred Kitchell.

In principles and aims the two institutions were alike. There was yet another fact that must have quickened his interest and stirred his enthusiasm as Doctor Bateman contemplated this call; for one of the historic debates between Lincoln and Douglas had been held upon the Knox campus, and against the east wall of the recently erected Main Building, high above the platform from which the two orators had addressed their vast audience, a great banner had



Alumni Office, Knox College

OLD MAIN, SCENE OF LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE ON OCT. 7, 1858

been stretched inscribed with the significant words "Knox College for Lincoln." A little later, too, in 1860, the college had conferred upon Lincoln the honorary degree of LL.D. and was thus the first institution academically to recognize the ability and eminence of the Illinois statesman. This association with one whose memory he revered—not only as a great figure in national history, but as one whom he had known intimately and loved as a friend—would in itself endear the college to Newton Bateman.

But Knox College was having its embarrassments in 1874. For two years it had been without a president, following the resignation of Dr. John P. Gulliver in 1872 because he felt that his policy for "the management and development of a first class college was at variance with that of the Board of Trustees." This disagreement was primarily over the matter of expenditures. Scholarly standards had not been lowered—on the contrary President Gulliver's administration of four years had been especially strong on the side of scholarship; but, as was the case with all the colleges of the state, it was a period of financial stress at Knox, accentuated by the hard times following the panic of 1873; and it was the president's insistence upon larger investment in equipment and personnel that had created the rift.

During the two years that elapsed before a successor could be found, the college, under the leadership of that great teacher, Albert Hurd, as president *pro tem,* had suffered no decline in standards or efficiency, but the fact that the college was still without an official head was an increasing embarrassment and it was essential that an executive of experience and repute should be found. It was indeed a happy event for Knox College when at a special meeting of the Board, in Chicago, on August 12, 1874, Dr. Newton Bateman was elected its sixth president.

The inauguration of the new executive took place on Wednesday evening preceding commencement, June 23, 1875. The exercises were held in the Opera House. Ex-Chief Justice Charles B. Lawrence, vice-president of the Board, presided and presented the keys to the president-elect. The inaugural address followed. Editorial comment in the *Republican-Register*, which printed the entire address, declared it "applicable to the occasion and replete with practical suggestions and good common sense."[16] The comment was accurate and deserved. The address, emphasizing principles of administration which long years of experience had impressed on the speaker as essential, was indeed eminently practical and equally appropriate to the situation at Knox College as he found it.

> The financial and business interests of a college should be conducted upon the same principles of integrity, economy,

[16] The address is preserved in a pamphlet of twenty pages, published by the Trustees.

prudence and common sense, as obtain in the affairs of every well-regulated commercial or other strictly business corporation. . . .

A well-earned reputation for prudent financial management is a credit to an institution, the good effects of which can scarcely be over-estimated. It begets respect and confidence. It is the best and, with not a few, the only argument that can be used where the question of funds and endowments is involved. . . .

A *wise* economy is indispensable . . . Some things are essential to the very existence of a college . . . If these cannot be had, the case is already settled—a college is impossible. There is a point, therefore, below which college expenditure cannot by any possibility be carried. If the resources of the institution fall below this point in spite of all that can be done, suspension, temporary or permanent, is the only honorable alternative. . . .

It is in unessentials, in things not absolutely necessary to the true work of the institution that economy is demanded . . . How many colleges now gasping for breath and faint with hunger, might have bread enough and to spare but for thousands of dollars imbedded in superfluous brick and stone, or lavished upon other luxuries of art and taste. How many have come to want and grief by attempting to rival the sumptuous outfit and elegant surroundings and costly decorations of older and richer institutions.

And the orator closed his discussion of this phase of his subject with a paragraph suggestive of the rhetorical style of an earlier period:

No reasonable man appreciates such aesthetic harmonies and congruities more than I do. If there is a spot on earth over which it were meet to fling the draperies of Attic taste and classic beauty, and around which to gather the symmetries and inspiration of high art, it is the spot consecrated to learning and culture—the buildings and grounds of the Christian college. But 'the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment' . . . Till all the essential means and appliances required to build, equip, instruct, and polish the intellect of the student, to mature, ennoble and glorify his character, and send him forth in mental and moral strength, are well in hand, the college must forego the pleasure of putting on her garments of outward grace and beauty. The body may go in homespun, but there must be fine linen for the soul.

The new president was well acquainted with the history of Knox College, its founding, its development. He paid eloquent

tribute to the lives and labors of these founders and teachers of these Christian colleges in the West, and prophesied that a day would come "when these colleges, exalted and purified by trial . . . will put on their robes of strength as well as of beauty and with songs of victory gird themselves for the grander future that opens before them."

In a brief discussion concerning the proper functions of the college—a subject which later engaged his attention in one of the chapel talks—emphasis was laid upon the common judgment that it was "the distinctive ministry of the college to lay foundations, to unfold principles, to teach the student the true nature and use of his mental and moral powers and faculties, to give him the keys of all knowledge and put him in the right road to success in every department of human learning." Regarding the place and value of Latin and Greek in a scheme of liberal education, the president affirmed his own faith "in the superior excellence and effectiveness of those languages as instruments of culture, and in their great practical utility in other respects." He also approved a standard curriculum of required courses: "All elective or optional studies should be beyond or outside of those well-defined boundaries." He urged a fraternal feeling toward other colleges and sympathy and co-operation with public education and the common schools. "For colleges are the indubitable progenitors of free schools. The idea of which they were born came from the Christian colleges of New England . . . The American college system was, and is, the parent of the American free school system."

A particularly interesting and self-revealing part of this address dealt more intimately with the relation of the college to its students. Doctor Bateman deplored the steadily increasing cost of a college education—not so much the natural advance in the cost of instruction and the normal living expense, but the growing extravagance of social customs, usages and practices that affected directly the undergraduate life. So imperative were these social requirements in some eminent and most excellent institutions that young men of scanty means were either excluded outright from these colleges because unable to pay the bills, or were subjected to the tortures of a silent but no less cutting ostracism, if they entered.

Such facts and tendencies cannot be too profoundly regretted or too earnestly deprecated. They are contrary to the genius and intent of the American college. They foster notions and practices at war with the spirit and traditions of our venerated college fathers and with the simplicity of republican ideas. They divert the thoughts from college work and duties to an injurious extent. They foster habits of no benefit to any and to some exceedingly pernicious. But, more than all, they effectually shut out and turn back hundreds of young men who *cannot* spend so much money and *will not* submit to the inevitable consequences of non-compliance with established college customs. . . .

College halls should be accessible to these young men; college customs should not repel them; college practices should not deter them; lavish expenditures should not keep them away; exclusiveness should not warn them off; aristocratic notions should not intimidate them; the atmosphere of the place should not chill them. By the simple, quiet, unostentatious and inexpensive habits and manners of all connected with the institution; by the modest, cheerful and wholesome tone of the whole college regime; by the manifest supremacy in all things of the true intent and spirit of college life and work, and the subordination of all else—by these means and others of like nature, so accordant with all the purposes and traditions of Christian colleges in this plain, republican country, the gifted sons of the indigent should be *drawn* to us by an irresistible attraction; and made contented and happy when they come and while they stay. If I seem to emphasize this point it is because I have deep feelings and strong convictions in regard to it. I am in especial sympathy with these young men. I know them—their struggles, aspirations, and hopes. I am of them and with them, and so long as I am here, I intend, so far as in me lies, that they shall feel at home in Knox College.

No less characteristic of the spirit of Newton Bateman were the sentiments expressed in the paragraphs that follow:

Touching the inner life, the soul and spirit, the heart of a college, its essential attitudes and character in a moral and religious sense—it should in my judgment be simply *Christian* in the grand, Catholic, gospel acceptance of that term—no more, no less. The legend upon its banner should be: *Religion and Learning—Christ and Culture* . . . The one brings the nobler delights of mental conflicts and victories; the other the grander triumphs of a renewed life and the ineffable blessedness of a soul at peace with God . . . With-

> out culture a man is blind in a world of beauty, deaf in a world of song, insensible in a world of sublimity and pathos; without religion he is a lost pleiad', a wandering star, out of his spiritual orbit, out of harmony with the rhythmic forces of the moral and spiritual universe, drifting alone in a sunless firmament. *With both*, he is whole and complete, *'in se ipso totus teres atque rotundus'*,[17] in a sense infinitely grander than it even entered into the mind of Horace to conceive . . .
>
> This is the atmosphere I would have pervade college halls and class-rooms, breathe through chapel and campus and penetrate all the recesses of college life. This is the moral and religious oxygen that I would see infused into all the work of instruction and giving tone and character to all the subjects of its training. True to these principles, keeping within the orbit of these gracious aims and purposes, the Christian college owes no other allegiance and should need no other alliances.

The significance and aptness of this statement is recognized in view of the position of Knox College—unique among its sister colleges of the Middle West—in its independence of denominational affiliation and control.

Addressing the Board of Trustees, the president asserted his own diffidence as he stood upon the threshold of untried duties. He felt the "magnitude and grandeur" of the work before him:

> Not light nor few have been my labors in the past, but none of them were undertaken with the diffidence that now oppresses me. . . .
>
> But, gentlemen, wisely or unwisely, I have accepted the trust which you have committed to my hands and until that trust is recalled or surrendered, the honor, enlargement, and prosperity of Knox College shall be the one paramount thought and concern of my life.

A few appreciative and sympathetic words to his "dear brethren of the Faculty," an appeal to the loyalty of the alumni, to the students; a genial greeting to the citizens of Galesburg asking for just and kindly judgment for this stranger within their gates, and for his work their generous sympathy and interest; and a final word to the friends of Knox College everywhere, asking their aid, confidence and sympathy, brought the inaugural address to a close.

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[17] "In himself complete, symmetrical, a well-rounded man."

At the commencement exercises on the following day degrees and diplomas were conferred upon sixteen graduates of the class of 1875.

"To you, dear Brethren of the Faculty, I come as an associate and co-laborer," the president had said in his inaugural; "I know your devotion, your fidelity, your ability, your solicitudes and your abounding labors and toils . . . Upon you has rested the responsibility of sustaining Knox College and most faithfully have you fulfilled the trust." Who were the members of this group of teachers that had faithfully carried the responsibility and ably sustained the interests and reputation of the college in its recent trying experiences?

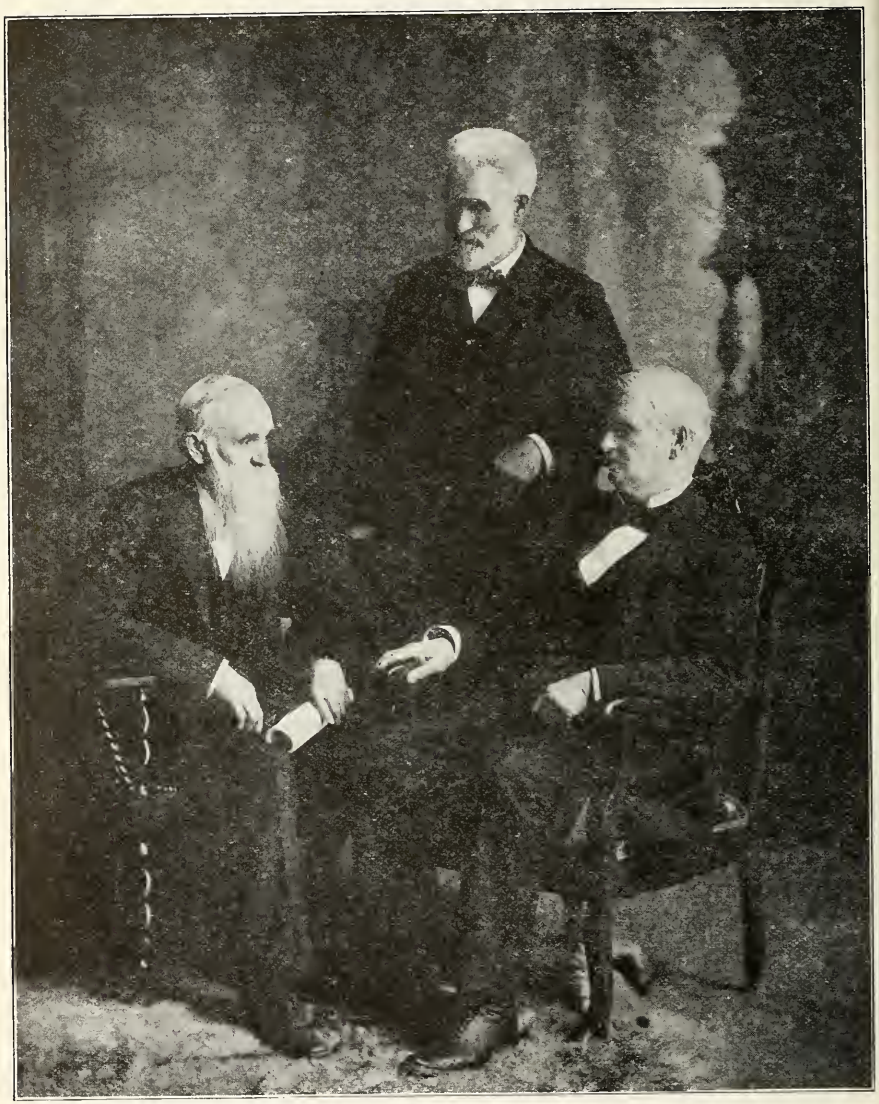
Including that of the president, just twelve names appear on the list of those who composed the faculty for the year 1875-76 —and some of these are weighty in Knox tradition.

Albert Hurd, professor of Chemistry and Natural Science,
George Churchill, principal of the Academy,
Milton L. Comstock, professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy,
Thomas R. Willard, professor of Ancient Languages,
W. F. Northrup, instructor in Elocution and Classical tutor,
Henry W. Read, assistant in the Academy.

The remaining five include the principal of the Ladies' Seminary, instructors in drawing and music and assistants in the academy.

Hurd, Churchill, Comstock: the famous "triumvirate" that for half a century formed the nucleus of the Knox faculty. Comstock and Churchill, graduates of Knox in 1851; Hurd, who began his work at Knox in that same year, a graduate of Middlebury and for a short period a student under Agassiz at Cambridge. Comstock, mild in speech and serene in temperament, was a natural mathematician—self-trained in the abstractions of the science that he loved; schooled in experience and accurate in his scholarship. Churchill, virile, inspiring, quick in movement, explosive in speech; original in illustration and keen of wit, he was a master in the art of quickening the untrained mind to responsive endeavor. Hurd, the teacher paramount:—

> Clean cut as a cameo were his features, but the expression of his thought had the definiteness of outline and the distinctness of projection of a mathematical figure. His ex-



Alumni Office, Knox College

THE KNOX TRIUMVIRATE

Reading from left to right: Albert E. Hurd, Professor of Chemistry and Natural Sciences 1851-97, and Professor of Latin, 1897-06; George Churchill, Principal of the Academy 1855-99, and assistant Professor of Mathematics; Milton L. Comstock, Principal of the Academy 1851-54, and later assistant Professor of Mathematics and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy.

> pression was clear and vivid because his own conception was so; and his command of speech, his lively imagination, his chaste taste found ever more the fitting word. Truth with him was something sacred, and his temperament was volcanic—so that no student cared to trifle either with the truth or with the professor.

Thus has Professor Willard vividly portrayed the dynamic personality of the man who during his fifty-five years of active service impressed on the minds of Knox students the facts of science and in later years the discipline and beauty of the Latin classics; this—and, no less, the stamp of his own vigorous integrity.

Such were the men who were now to be the associates and devoted friends of the new president; to render their cordial support and earnest effort in the furtherance of his policies and to cooperate whole-heartedly in his labors for the upbuilding of Knox. Their united service was to continue throughout the years of his presidency; at the time of his death they were still in active service which lasted till the end of the century and, in the case of Professor Hurd, continued until 1906.

Nourished in the Knox tradition, trained under the instruction and personal influence of these inspiring teachers, Thomas R. Willard was a worthy associate of that group. His life-long service to the college was given with the same spirit of unselfish devotion that characterized that of these older men. He was a member of the class of 1866, and had taught for a year as classical instructor in the academy; he had taken a full theological course of three years and received his degree at Andover, in 1870. Another year as instructor in Logic and Rhetoric at Knox was followed by two years in the special study of Greek at Leipzig; in 1875 he was permanently established as professor of Ancient Languages at his *alma mater*. Two years later, following a change in departments, he became professor of Greek and German. A man of excellent judgment, of kindly nature, sympathetic with young life, a firm believer in, and a sane supporter of, college athletics, a safe counsellor of young and old, no one in later years had a firmer hold upon the respect and affection of the student body, or upon the esteem and love of his colleagues. He served as acting president for a year following the resignation of President Finley and in 1899 became the first dean of Knox College.

Henry W. Read had just graduated after five years in the academy and the college. He had distinguished himself as a student and was to occupy an important place in the teaching force of the institution. Quiet, modest, unassuming in his relation to his work, he was a careful scholar and a thorough teacher of beginners in Latin and Greek. One of the pillars in the old academy for more than thirty years, he retired in 1907, shortly before the preparatory department was discontinued.

William P. Northrup, graduate of Hamilton College, was at Knox only four years, and this year was his last. He became a distinguished physician and surgeon and was for many years a prominent member of the medical staff of New York University.

President Bateman's pledge to the Trustees—"until that trust is recalled or surrendered, the honor, enlargement and prosperity of Knox College shall be the one paramount thought and concern of my life."—was conscientiously and liberally fulfilled. His administration, notable in the history of the college, continued for eighteen years. It covered a period well described as a "placid era of continuous progress."

During these years there was a steady increase in the attendance.[18] In accordance with custom, the president gave instruction in Mental and Moral Science, Logic and Evidences of Christianity. His interest in his students was always manifest; it found expression in class-room and in personal contact, and particularly through his chapel talks. How deep and earnest that interest was—touching every phase of their welfare—the addresses here collected give eloquent testimony. Warm-hearted, genial, sympathetic and tactful, he won the affection of the students; without, as well as within the college, his scholarly attainments, native dignity and nobility of character commanded universal respect.

It is not possible to chronicle the details of President Bateman's administration. At the meeting of the Trustees in com-

[18] The following figures from the college catalogues for the years indicated are significant of the steady increase in student attendance during President Bateman's administration. The enrollment in departments is summarized as follows:

Year	College proper	Seminary course	Art-Music	Academy	Total
1875–76	41	44	86	195	325
1885–86	174	39	193	153	485
			(Conservatory)		
1891–92	254	—	243	171	618

In arriving at the totals allowance is made for names appearing in more than one department.

mencement week in 1885, certain resolutions adopted by the Board give an adequate summary of what had been accomplished:

> Whereas the close of the present year completes the first decade of the services of Hon. Newton Bateman, LL.D. as president of Knox College, and
>
> Whereas a marked improvement in the work and influence of the College has taken place during that period; an improvement very largely due to his personal influence and labor—therefore
>
> Resolved, by the Board of Trustees of Knox College, that some record be made of our appreciation of Dr. Bateman's success in every department of his difficult work. We recognize his success in uniting all the diverse parties interested in the College—and in promoting a spirit of Christian forbearance and good will. We regard with a grateful admiration the personal magnetism that enables him to draw to himself the students placed under his care, and to inspire them to pure living and lofty thinking.
>
> We love him for his nobility of character and gentleness of manner; and rejoice in the literary attainments, the executive skill and the worthy Christian character that have contributed so much to the high reputation, good order, financial soundness and religious health of the institution.
>
> Resolved: that we find in the great prosperity of the College since Dr. Bateman's accession to the presidency a signal proof of his ability and of the confidence reposed in him by good men. This prosperity is evidenced by the quadrupling of the number of students in the college classes; by a large increase in the endowment fund; by the raising of the standard of admission; by the increase of facilities in the departments of the English language, Elocution, Music, and Physical Training; by the enlargement of the collections in Botany and other sciences and in the establishing of the professorship of Military Science and Tactics; by the increased willingness of students to continue in their studies until graduation; and by the enhanced respect in which the College is held at home and abroad.
>
> In view of Dr. Bateman's great usefulness as indicated by these facts, our desire and prayer is that he may long be spared to the College and the cause of Christian culture.

Thus was the seal of official approval placed upon the labors and achievements of the president. There could hardly be a more emphatic acknowledgment that "the honor, enlargement and prosperity of the College" had been faithfully conserved by the man

who, ten years before, had so diffidently assumed that sacred trust —or a more gracious expression of the esteem, reverence and affection in which that man was held.

In the resolutions just quoted mention is made of increased facilities in several departments of instruction. In fact two notable additions had been made to the teaching staff. In 1880 Miss Malvina M. Bennett was appointed instructor in Elocution; a year later Melville B. Anderson was added as professor of English and French. Miss Bennett remained ten years at Knox; under her magnetic and inspiring leadership, the art of public speaking was effectively taught and the prestige of Knox student orators firmly established. She later resigned to become a member of the faculty of Wellesley College and continued there until her retirement. Professor Anderson, afterward to be widely known for his scholarly attainment in both English and the Romance languages, an author of distinction and the translator of Dante, was for six years a member of the Knox faculty, and later, for many years a professor at Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In 1893 the department of Music was reorganized with additional instructors under the name of the Knox Conservatory. On the list of its first faculty appears the name of William F. Bentley —subsequently, as its energetic and beloved director, to be identified for half a century as a leader in all pertaining to musical culture in both college and city. A year later a professorship of Military Science and Tactics was established under a law authorizing the detail of army officers to various educational institutions. It is a matter of interest that the passage of this bill was largely due to the efforts of President Bateman, who secured the assistance and influence of Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, then Secretary of War, and the two Senators from Illinois, John A. Logan and Shelby M. Cullom. Of the ten institutions thus favored, Knox was the only small college included; the other military details were assigned to universities. The cadet corps was maintained at Knox until the beginning of the Spanish-American War. In 1899 these special details were withdrawn from all except state universities.

These ten years of devoted, efficient service to the college had not passed without taking their toll in physical strength and emotional stress. Bereavement had fallen heavily upon the president and his household. Three years after he assumed his duties as

president the first blow fell. In May, 1878, Mrs. Annie Tyler Bateman died.

Mrs. Bateman had suffered intensely from chronic asthma. Yet, although people spoke of her as an invalid, she was never an invalid in temperament. Her daughter, Annie Bateman Ewart, wrote years afterward:

> I wish you might have known my mother . . . She had a brilliant mind and a fine, discriminating literary taste and judgment. My father told me he owed much to her helpful criticism of his writings, which he read to her whenever possible. She was an accomplished pianist, playing with a most sympathetic and interpretative touch. She was a most gracious hostess, unostentatious to a degree; always unaffectedly adequate socially.
>
> Admirably self-controlled, I never heard her lift her voice in anger. She was a perfect mother—firm but gentle, sympathetic and understanding. All these long years I have mourned that she was taken from me in my seventeenth year. I am sure I should have been a much better mother if I had had her longer.

A trip to California in the summer following Mrs. Bateman's death had brought restoration of spirit and renewed vigor for the work before him. In 1880, through the loyalty and affection of alumni and students, Dr. Bateman was given a trip abroad. His son, Clifford, was his companion on this tour which included the continental countries usually visited. In its course he made some study of the educational methods practiced in France and Germany, and suggestive comments on these methods in comparison with our own are to be found in the series of delightful travel talks addressed to his chapel audience after his return.

The loss of his son three years later was another crushing blow. Clifford Rush Bateman, gifted, a graduate of Amherst and of the Columbia Law School and already started on a promising career, a lecturer in the Columbia School of Political Science, died in February 1883; he was then in his twenty-ninth year.

The last eight years of Dr. Bateman's administration were marked with further evidences of progress and prosperity. During the commencement week of 1887 the college celebrated its semicentennial. In preparation for this event a large pavilion, known as the "Wigwam," was erected on the rear campus, dedicated with an entertainment by the students, who had assisted in its construc-

tion; and here the exercises were held. There was a great attendance of alumni and former students; thirty-seven of the forty-one classes were represented. At the reunion and banquet which closed the commemoration it is said that there were a thousand present. There was great enthusiasm. The college, its history and development, was the theme; but on this occasion oratory was not altogether concerning the past. "Knox as She Is and Is to Be" was the subject of President Bateman's address, and Dr. Joseph E. Roy, of the class of 1848 and a Trustee, spoke of "Knox in 1937."

The material development of the college was further evidenced in the enlargement of the Knox Seminary by the addition of the east wing in 1885 and of the west wing in 1892; the name of Whiting Hall was given to this building in 1894, in memory of Mrs. Maria H. Whiting, the honored principal of the seminary, (1879-92), through whose earnest effort and personal gifts, these additions had been made possible. In 1888 the Observatory was built. The corner-stone of Alumni Hall was laid in October, 1892, by President Benjamin Harrison; an occasion of notable importance.

Throughout the years there had been, as there always will be in the history of colleges, periods of special embarrassment through lack of funds and pressing need of a larger endowment. By strenuous efforts, however, on the part of president and trustees these crises had been providentially passed. In 1889 the announcement of a prospective gift, that of the Chicago philanthropist, Dr. D. K. Pearsons, nominally of fifty thousand dollars, came as an encouragement to all.

The labors of President Bateman were not confined entirely to the Knox campus. While carrying the duties and responsibilities of his office, he had served in other capacities as well. He had been made a member of the State Board of Health in 1877, attended its sessions in Springfield regularly, and conscientiously performed his part in its functions until he retired in 1891. He had also served on the Assay Commission appointed by President Hayes in 1878. Widely known for his eloquence as a public speaker and famous for his career as an educator, he was in demand for addresses here and there. In his own community, as one of its most honored citizens, beloved and revered, he was often called upon, and frequently preached in various churches.

The strain upon his physical strength became too heavy; Dr. Bateman felt the necessity of relief from his burden of responsibility. When the Trustees met for their annual commencement week, 1888, at the conclusion of his report, the president offered his resignation to take effect on the first of July following. Action was deferred. The president desired to be relieved entirely from duty but would not refuse to accept a subordinate place on the faculty if, after a vacation, his health was sufficiently restored. The Trustees thought that the resignation should not be acted upon until the matter of choosing his successor had been duly considered —obviously a point of vital importance. Thus matters were allowed to stand, and it was not until 1892 that the resignation was accepted.

In the interim a candidate for the presidency had been found —following a suggestion of Dr. Bateman himself—in the person of John H. Finley, a graduate of Knox in the class of 1887; a young man whose record as a student had been of exceptional excellence, whose character and personality had commanded the highest esteem, and whose course as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University had already brought him into favorable notice as a man of distinguished and brilliant promise—a man, indeed, whose subsequent career in later life was destined to bring the highest honor to himself and to his *alma mater*. At a special meeting of the Board in March, 1892, with the warm approval of Doctor Bateman, Mr. Finley was elected president with a year's leave of absence. Doctor Bateman was designated professor of Mental and Moral Science and acting-president for the following year. The inauguration of President Finley took place at commencement, 1893; and on the minutes of the Board was recorded an expression—far from formal in its tone—of its appreciation of the invaluable service that had been rendered by the retiring president:

> That our honored and greatly beloved President Bateman ever has been and still is highly esteemed by the Board of Trustees of Knox College is not enough to express all that we recognize as due him in his official relations to this Board and the College we represent.
>
> His career as an educator has been a remarkable one, and it is fitting to say that the crowning service of his life has been that in connection with Knox College. . . .

As a college president he has displayed rare gifts. Assuming the responsibilities of the presidency of Knox College at a time critical in her history and most important in the educational interests of our country, he has at no time been found wanting . . . That Knox College has had marked success during the eighteen years of the official relation of Dr. Bateman with it is universally admitted; that this marvellous success is largely due to the personality of Dr. Bateman must certainly be recognized . . . In his scholarly acquirements and official character his life has been a model. Nature, education and grace have made him what he is. His rare natural gifts, his faithful application and his thorough consecration of himself to his life work have crowned his labors with such an abundant success. . . .

So thoroughly unselfish in all his relations in life, he has gathered about him an innumerable company of followers . . . His modest humility, high self-respect, and his tender consideration for others, his disposition to see every character in the fairest light, his fidelity to truth and righteousness, have placed Dr. Bateman in the front ranks of college presidents in the evening of the nineteenth century. . . .

He has always been firm in what he thought to be essential, but gentle, unobtrusive and ever diffident in all that is merely incidental . . . It has been his disposition to deal tenderly with the erring and he has been patient toward all. But in this placing on record our mind of the service of Dr. Bateman we need no flattering word. His life and his life work tell the story. . . .

Knox College of 1893, relatively considered with what she was eighteen years ago, brings glory enough to the name of Newton Bateman. Such a combination of gifts and grace is rare. Such a life is an instructive chapter in the great book that Providence is making in the educational and Christian circle of the day. . . .

How truly does his life and work illustrate the fact that God will recognize and honor fidelity, love and obedience. The members of the Board of Trustees are most hearty in this expression of delight that, though Dr. Bateman is so soon to retire from the active duties of the presidency of the College, he is to remain as one of the Faculty and of the Board. That he may spend many years in this new relation, is our earnest desire and most sincere prayer. . . .

EMERITUS

During the twilight years that followed, although the burden of larger responsibility had been removed from the shoulders

that had so sturdily borne it for the past eighteen years, there was no waning in the devotion and affection that characterized the relations of the president emeritus to the college. In Doctor Bateman's mind the college was and ever had been tangibly and visibly the student body. The interests of the students, mental and spiritual, were his greatest care. The students were his "boys and girls." With a benevolence more than paternal, he regarded them with pride and solicitude; trusted them; rejoiced in their achievements; and sought to guide them in ways of virtue and Christian faith as well as in the way of knowledge. On the practical everyday side of life, too, he gave them sound advice—both in public and in private—marked by shrewd common sense, and not without an occasional sly touch of humor. One of his students, an underclassman in the eighties (now an alumnus of distinction, an author of scientific works and a professor in an Eastern university) has preserved his note of the advice given him by President Bateman on the eve of a journey through the Southern states for the purpose of collecting specimens:

> The South contains the best and the worst people in the world and all grades in between. Always keep the best possible company. Look every man squarely in the eye. Have as little to do with strangers as possible aside from your business. Be courteous to all, and especially observe what an army colonel I once knew called the eleventh commandment—mind your own business!

Doctor Bateman continued to fill the chair of Mental and Moral Science until 1896, when he was relieved of class-room duties and of all further burden "except the giving of such lectures from time to time upon such subjects as may be congenial to him." The "lectures" here mentioned were the chapel talks which had formed so important a part of his contribution to the life and character of the college.

As president he was always in his place at chapel exercises. His very presence on the platform was itself a lesson to uneasy students. As he sat with eyes fixed upon the one who might be leading the service of the day, he was an eloquent example of courteous attention and genuine interest in the speaker's word. When he himself conducted the exercise, he was impressive in appearance as well as in speech. In later years the whitening hair and beard imparted a patriarchal dignity to his features. Al-

though short of stature his erect and sturdy figure was commanding; his voice, sonorous and pleasingly modulated, carried easily to the extremities of the room. He spoke with deep feeling; sometimes his eyes were moist as he dwelt upon some theme of deep spiritual import, and, as often, his face would light with humor as he recounted some episode in his own experience or uttered some naive phrase with humorously ironical intent. These Thursday mornings—"President's morning"—were a recognized institution of Knox College. Almost invariably on these occasions there were other than student listeners in the audience; it is safe to say that neither students nor visitors ever forgot the impressiveness and inspiration of these chapel talks.

The Bateman home was in the large and comfortable house, attractively set in extensive grounds amid tall trees and shrubs, on West North Street. It was an appropriate and agreeable retreat. Doctor Bateman alluded to it jocularly as his "farm." Here he entertained annually the members of the graduating class, and here he received his friends. It was one of his genial habits to take the hat of a favored guest and place it upon a particular peg of the antique hat rack—a relic of the Springfield period—saying with a half-humorous, half-serious tone: "Now you have hung your hat just where Abraham Lincoln hung his." Older residents of Galesburg have in memory a pleasant picture of the venerable Doctor in those later years driving down to college of a morning, in his phaeton, usually accompanied by a member of his family. When the Batemans removed from Springfield in 1875, they brought their family horse, Tom; but Tom passed on and was succeeded by Ned—and Ned was as sedate in harness as was his master who held the reins. Doctor Bateman said of both horses that they were never fast except when fast to a post—and that every leg was a post. One day, overtaking Mr. George Davis, the treasurer of the college, and noted for his dry Scotch-Irish wit, the president invited him to ride. "Thank you, Doctor," was Mr. Davis's reply, "but I'm in a bit of a hurry this morning."

The home life of the Batemans must have been bright and cheery, except when the clouds of bereavement settled over the household. There was deep affection in that family circle and, at times, much happy laughter. The father's genial disposition and keen sense of humor were inherited by his children. His son, Clif-

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DR. BATEMAN AND HIS NIECE, MISS LEE

ford, was already a student at Amherst when the family arrived in Galesburg, but the three daughters were all students at Knox. The eldest, Sarah Dayton (Mrs. Wiley K. Wright), was graduated in 1878; the second daughter, Annie Tyler (Mrs. John Y. Ewart), in 1882; the youngest, Elizabeth (Mrs. George J. Gongaware), was a member of the class of 1884. The subsequent marriages of these daughters—all married ministers—and their departure from the home brought the inevitable separations. Happily the president was not left alone. For many years a niece, Miss Elizabeth Lee, had been a member of the household. Orphaned in childhood, she was brought as a little girl by Doctor Bateman to the home in Springfield, and became, as one of the daughters declares, "a beloved member of the family; a sister and daughter to all intents and purposes." At the time of Mrs. Bateman's death, Miss Lee, then a teacher in Lincoln, Illinois, returned to the home in Galesburg and assumed the duties of its management. Devoted to her uncle and tireless in her solicitude, she remained his constant companion, his secretary, and his loving assistant until the end.

For several years President Bateman had suffered from an affection of the heart. As this fatal disease became more acute he endured the recurrent attacks with fortitude, and continued active and cheerful to the last.

The occasion of one of these attacks is recorded in a tribute paid by Dr. A. F. Sherrill, pastor of the Central Church, in his sermon on the Sunday following Doctor Bateman's death:

> The acute physical pain made him also as "gold tried in the fire." That we all saw, especially in these later days. At Captain Fuller's funeral he came along the walk as I approached. He was pale and there was in his face a transparent look that does not belong to this earth.
>
> "I am in great pain today," he said, "and I would not have come out but for my dear old friend."
>
> Twice he declined to speak, owing to his sufferings, but as time went on and Colonel Carr spoke of the old times and of progress, Dr. Bateman on the next request paid a loving tribute to Captain Fuller. He spoke of the captain's going a little before him, going and leaving the neighborhood so lonely. I suppose that this was the last time that he spoke in a general way of the hope that was in him. A curious circumstance about this is that Dr. Bateman told me that the

moment he began to speak the pain left him and did not return after the service.

During these last months the president had been occupied in the preparation of an historical work[19] in collaboration with a friend, and had completed his revision of the material for the volume shortly before his death.

The end came suddenly. On October 21, 1897, at the age of seventy-five, Newton Bateman died.

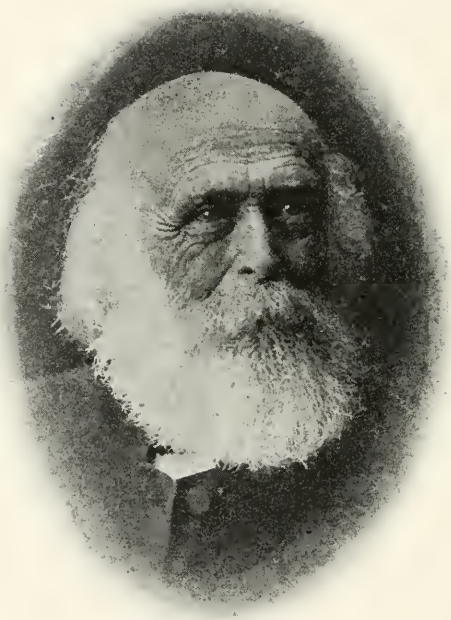
On the Monday following, October 25, the entire community participated in the final tributes of respect to the memory of their distinguished fellow citizen. There was a spirit of sincerity and unanimity attending the obsequies that made the occasion unusually impressive and memorable.

In the early forenoon, after a brief service within the family circle at the home, the body of the former president was brought to the college under escort of the Knox Cadets. At the entrance to the city park they were met by the faculty and the students not members of the cadet corps. Then up the avenue of elms that shade the "way to Knox," led by a special cadet squad and the men of the faculty as escort, the procession moved; members of the senior class bore the casket, the long line of students following in the rear. Pausing for a moment before the doors of Old Main, the procession entered the portal of Alumni Hall.

Here, in the chapel, where so often and so recently they had listened to his voice as he had addressed them in words of friendly counsel, the entire college body, teachers and students, looked for the last time on the face of the president in whom they had ever found a trusted advisor and friend. Later in the forenoon the teachers and pupils of the high school led by the superintendent of the city schools—and, during the noon hour, hundreds of school children—passed through the hall.

At two o'clock short memorial exercises were held. Trustees, faculty and students, members of the city council, representatives from neighboring colleges and from the Galesburg schools were in the audience. Brief addresses were made by City Superintendent W. L. Steele, Hon. S. M. Inglis, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor Milton L. Comstock, rep-

[19] *An Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois.* Edited by Newton Bateman and Paul Selby.



Dr. Newton Bateman

resenting the faculty, Edgar A. Bancroft, for the Trustees, and President Finley.

The public service was held in the Presbyterian Church. The sermon, delivered by Dr. M. B. Lowrie, former pastor of the Galesburg church during the early years of Doctor Bateman's residence, was based on two passages:

> "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."
>
> "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace."

Emphasis was laid on the religious life and character of the late president and tribute was paid to his eminent career, the wide circle of his influence, the large place he held in the affection and respect of multitudes, the importance of his life work as a man prominent for many years in the eye of the public. With discrimination and justice Doctor Lowrie described the service rendered to the College and the unassuming attitude of President Bateman in the administration of its affairs.

> His first and chief work was in the college itself: and here, without any flourish or display but simply by the sheer force of patient, persistent holding to the purpose of doing the best work possible with the means at his command, he made his influence felt not only on the students who there passed under his care, but upon the future stability and development of the institution . . .

Interment was at Hope Cemetery. It was late in the beautiful October afternoon and the sun was nearing the horizon; the western sky was bright with its glory when the body of Newton Bateman was laid to rest.[20]

Many and impressive were the tributes called forth by the passing of this good and honored man. His eminence in the field of public education, his noble life, his modest, kindly spirit, his

[20] Among those in attendance at the funeral were men who had been prominent in the political life of the state, contemporaries and associates of Doctor Bateman in Springfield and those who knew and honored his lifelong service in the cause of education. Included among the twenty-six designated as honorary pall-bearers were Senator Shelby M. Cullum, Ex-Governor Richard Oglesby, Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, Hon. W. T. Harris, (U. S. Commissioner of Education), State Superintendent Samuel M. Inglis, Paul Selby (co-editor with Dr. Bateman of the *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*), Marshall P. Ayers (a classmate at Illinois College), Professors Hurd, Comstock and Churchill, President Nash of Lombard College, Dr. J. V. N. Standish and other prominent citizens of Galesburg.

Christian character and triumphant faith—were alike recognized and eulogized.

Resolutions adopted by the City Council of Galesburg emphasized the importance of the lesson taught by "the pure, useful and simple life of Dr. Newton Bateman;" described him as "the peer of Illinois' greatest sons of the past generation, yet withal as modest and unassuming as a child;" mentioned "his courageous conception of right and duty, his goodness of heart, his kindliness, his love for his fellow men;" and closed with the statement:

> As one man Galesburg weeps over the demise of this grand old man. Not alone the College, the entire city will miss his kindly influence and mourn his loss. . . . In the name and in behalf of the city, we tender the children and relatives of Dr. Bateman the sincere sympathy of the entire community.

In December following, the Trustees of the College, at their mid-winter meeting in Chicago, took note of the deaths of three members of the Board: Josiah Babcock, O. F. Price and Newton Bateman. Of the former president, the item in the minutes reads:

> It is impossible to express in words the value of his services to the institution. Much, very much, of that which is most valuable in its reputation and not less of that which has grown into its permanent life and character is due to him. We hereby record our unfeigned gratitude to God that such counsellors and such a leader have been given to our beloved College and our hope that the succession of like men may not fail among us.

At the annual gathering of the State Teachers' Association at Springfield in December following Doctor Bateman's death, a memorial address was delivered by Dr. Samuel Willard. This address, tenderly appreciative in its expression of affectionate regard, is our most valuable source of fact concerning the early struggles of the youth in Jacksonville, the experiences of college days and details of the period of residence in Springfield.

Newton Bateman was eminent among the pioneers in public education in Illinois. In the early development of the free school system of the state perhaps no other had a larger or more important part. There are appropriate and enduring memorials of his labors in this field of public service.

At Illinois College, in 1919, a tablet was unveiled in honor of three Illinois pioneers in education. The citations were as follows:

> Governor Joseph Duncan—pioneer advocate of free schools; Jonathan Baldwin Turner—professor at the College and originator of the federal land-grant college plan; Newton Bateman—organizer of the public school system of Illinois.

When in 1890 the public school buildings of Galesburg were named in honor of citizens active in the interest of education, the sixth ward school (the ward in which the president resided) then became the Bateman School. In 1932 this building was replaced by a more commodious structure which retains the honored name.

In 1921 the city of Jacksonville opened its new and beautiful high school building, erected at a cost of a half-million dollars. It bears the name of the Newton Bateman School—a fitting memorial of the man who, in his youth had struggled here in poverty to attain his education and where later, on the threshold of his subsequent career, he had organized the first free high school in the state.[21]

In that same year, 1921, another memorial was dedicated. It stands in what was then a Chicago suburb—now within the city, at 4220 North Richmond Street—the Newton Bateman Elementary School, accommodating 1,300 pupils with a faculty of thirty-four teachers. The district superintendent at the time was a man who had taught under the regime of the former State Superintendent and revered his memory. At the formal exercises Francis G. Blair, then State Superintendent, addressed the pupils. Three generations of the family were represented by a daughter, Mrs. Annie Bateman Ewart; a granddaughter, Mrs. Jessie Ewart Lloyd; and a great-granddaughter, Jane Ewart. A portrait of Doctor Bateman, the gift of his grandson, Clifford Bateman Ewart (who was prevented from attendance by illness) and his daughter, Jane, was formally presented to the school by Mrs. Ewart and unveiled by the seven-year-old Jane. Old friends from Jacksonville and representatives of Knox College were in the audience.

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[21] "The first free public high school in Illinois was organized by Newton Bateman. In 1851 he opened the West Jacksonville District School, with four departments, the highest being a high school. This high school had a course of study that fitted for college. Some time before the passage of the law of 1855 this school became free in all departments."
John Williston Cook, *Educational History of Illinois.*

No more appropriate monuments than these could be devised to preserve in honor the name of Newton Bateman—"organizer of the public school system of Illinois."

What Newton Bateman accomplished at Knox College will not be forgotten so long as the college lives. Assuming the presidency at perhaps the most critical point in its history, he revitalized the institution. Under his genial administration its influence was extended and its prestige was established; foundations were laid upon which, under able successors, a stronger and greater college was to stand. It was a fitting climax, the crowning achievement of a career notable in the educational history of Illinois.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I

Name and Objects

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II

Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. At each annual meeting, except the first annual meeting to be held under this section, five directors shall be elected for terms of three years each. At the first annual meeting held under this section fifteen directors shall be elected, five of whom will hold office for one year, five for two years and five for three years, in accordance with lots to be drawn after the election. Directors shall be elected by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the

pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president pro-tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing

the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than $2; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than $2 as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings and Quorum

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and

place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V

Amendments

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; Provided that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

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